

# A.P. Government Review 2008

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Congratulations! You've made it through your AP U.S. Government course and are now ready to prepare for the AP Exam. These tips and strategies should help you in the final days or weeks before taking the exam. Remember that preparing for the Exam is a bit like training for a marathon--you won't do as well if you wait and cram a lot of training into the day before the Exam. Working at a reasonable pace from now until test day will pay off in the end.

**The Format of the Exam:** Let's begin by looking at a breakdown of how the AP US Government Exam is structured:

<u>Questions</u>	<u>Time allowed</u>	<u>Percentage of grade</u>
60 multiple choice	45 minutes	50%
4 free response	100 minutes	50%

The questions on the test will cover topics from the whole course. However, in the multiple-choice section, you'll find that certain subjects come up more often:

<u>Subject</u>	<u>Percentage of the Test</u>
<b>Government Institutions</b> (Congress, presidency, courts, bureaucracy)	35 to 40%
<b>Political Behavior of Individuals</b> (political culture, public opinion, voting)	10 to 20%
<b>Political Behavior of Groups</b> (political parties, elections, interest groups, PACs, and mass media)	10 to 20%
<b>Constitutional Foundations</b> (federalism, checks and balances, separation of powers, theories of democracy)	5 to 15%
<b>Civil Liberties and Civil Rights</b>	5 to 15%
<b>Public Policy</b>	5 to 15%

**Preparing for the Exam:** Preparing for the AP US Government Exam is like preparing for any other exam you've taken in your life; **you have to study**. We suggest creating a study plan, in which you decide what you need to study, and how much time you can spend on each subject. Refer to the chart above for percentages of questions covered on the Exam. Keep in mind that the focus of the Exam is on the general principles--the "big picture" that guides our system of government. Don't spend time memorizing obscure rules and "trivial pursuit" type facts (although such facts might help support a free response).

One of the most important things you can do to help yourself on the exam is to relax and stay confident so that you can think clearly. Remember: you don't need to get every problem right to get a 5 on the exam, so if you find problems that you can't answer, don't let that lower your confidence. It's also important to keep going on the exam. Your goal is to "harvest" as many points as possible, so concentrate and work efficiently the entire time. Use every minute you have, and don't stop! Many people don't receive the score they deserve simply because they got tired, lost concentration, and missed questions.

**Strategies for Questions:** Strategies for Multiple-Choice Questions - Before choosing an answer, read through all the possible answers. On many of the questions you can avoid spending too much time on a problem by reading the possible answers first. This can help you eliminate answers that are incorrect, which will narrow down your choices.

Studying for the AP US Government Exam isn't just about memorizing a list of terms, although we recommend that you review the vocabulary used in your course. More important is that you understand

those terms and how they relate to each other so you can see how they fit into the big picture. Some of the major concepts you should understand and be able to explain are:

Checks and balances; Separation of powers; Elements of the Constitution, such as the major powers of Congress; What Federalist No. 10 is about; Federalism; Differences between the House and the Senate; How a bill becomes a law; The presidential election process.

In addition to having a good grasp of the topics listed above, you should also understand the relationships between key concepts. On some exam questions, you may be asked to synthesize multiple concepts. A likely list of possibilities includes:

Federalism and policy making; Interest groups and theories of democracy; Expansion of civil rights via judicial activism; The mass media and the election process; Public opinion and support for political parties.

**Strategies for Free-Response Questions:** It's normal to get nervous when thinking about answering essay questions on an exam. If you spend some time understanding what the readers of the exam are looking for, you might be able to reduce this anxiety a bit. The first step in writing an answer is understanding the question. For example, if you're asked to discuss the implications of PACs, you won't get full credit for simply defining what a PAC is. This is only part of the answer. The rest of the answer involves your interpretation of the implications of PACs. The key to doing well on the free-response questions is reading the question correctly.

Questions on the AP US Government Exam generally fall into three categories, and the verbs used in the questions should reveal what the question is asking for. The **first question type** asks you to and write about the meaning of concepts. Some commonly used verbs in these questions include: define, describe, identify, list, state, and summarize.

The **second question type** asks you to demonstrate that you understand both sides of an issue or recognize similarities and differences. You don't need a full thesis statement to answer these questions because you're not asked to take a position and argue for it, however, you do need an organizing statement to orient your reader to your answer. Verbs used in this type of question include: compare, contrast, discuss, explain, and illustrate.

The **final question type** asks you to take a position and argue for a specific point of view. A thesis statement is required for this type of question. Verbs found in these questions include: analyze, argue, and interpret.

No matter what type of verb is used, one thing remains the same for all free-response questions: **you always need to support your points with examples.**

Keeping these points in mind, let's examine a question from the 1998 exam:

Question: Elections in the United States are characterized by low voter turnout. Discuss TWO demographic characteristics associated with nonvoting and THREE institutional obstacles associated with nonvoting.

Here is how you would answer this question: First, underline or circle words like "discuss," "two," and "three." Second, since the question asks for a discussion, you don't need to spend a lot of time writing a thesis and a long introduction. Instead, get right to the point ñ "There are two characteristics that contribute to low voter turnout." State what they are and how they're linked to turnout. Then tackle the three institutional obstacles.

When you're finished writing your answer, review it to make sure you've included the correct number of examples in your answer (don't write about 3 voter characteristics and 2 obstacles by mistake).

## Some general pointers to remember about free-response questions:

Short questions tend to ask for factual answers while longer questions ask for judgments (a thesis!). **Include concrete examples** in your answers that show you understand the topic or concept. For example, if you're asked to name a major cause of low voter turnout, don't just write "registration barriers." Instead, write "For example, most states require registration 30 days in advance. If people can't do this, they can't vote." **Answer all parts of the question.** Most ask for more than one thing. Exam graders tend to reward students more for answering all parts of a question than for doing well on only one part. So keep track of the time and write at least something for each part of the question. **Understand what you're being asked to write before you begin writing.** If you're asked to answer two parts of the question, answer two parts of the question. Although, remember there are no penalty points or deductions. You will not be penalized for writing incorrect information or for writing too much.

What if you really don't understand or remember something? The first rule is don't panic and start making things up. Instead, try to write confidently about the parts of the question you do understand, and include all parts of the question in at least a general way, if possible. Remember, it's better to get some points than no points at all. At the very least, brainstorm. Perhaps you will stumble across something.

Here is an example of this last point:

If you're asked about the War Powers Act and the Budget and Impoundment Act but can't fully explain both of them, you can make a global statement at the beginning of your essay that shows that you know something about both of them, such as: "The War Powers Act and the Budget and Impoundment Act were passed to set limits on presidential power." That way you wouldn't have said anything incorrect, and you'd only lose points for not fully answering the question.

### Do's and Don'ts:

#### Do's

1. Write as neatly as possible (without wasting time). You'll get a better score if the reader can understand what you're writing. If you make a mistake, simply draw a line through it and write the correct information above it. And, don't use arrows or asterisk because they can be confusing to the readers.
2. Read the question. And then read it again. Think about what you're going to write. Outline your answer. Make sure you're only answering what has been asked.
3. Reread your work and make sure you've answered each question fully and correctly. Have you appropriately **LINKED** your answer to the question?
4. Leave yourself a few minutes at the end to revise or proofread your answers.
5. There is **NO PENALTY** for wrong information, therefore, write as much as you can. If a question asks for two examples, brainstorm and write as many as you can think.
6. At the very least, use the **EXACT VOCABULARY** from the question in each component of your answer. Most rubrics ask for linkage back to the question. This is the sure fire way to move in that direction.

#### Don'ts

1. Don't give personal opinions (like your political affiliation or whether you like the president's policies). The Exam is testing your knowledge and understanding of the political process. Don't waste time stating an opinion, unless you're asked to do so.
2. Don't give long, unnecessary introductions. Get to the point.
3. Don't give information you weren't asked for. You won't get any extra points if you do. So don't waste your time writing it.
4. Don't spend more than 25 minutes on any one free-response question.
5. Don't fall asleep. Fight the fatigue. Time generally is not a factor. Wasted time is. Spend the time that is provided. This is a high stakes exam, do not look back and think about how you wasted it because you were tired, bored, or indifferent.

# Who Governs?

# To What Ends?

Special Interests?

Wall Street?

The Establishment?

Big Business?

Unions?

Religious Right?

The Politicians?

The PEOPLE?

RU Gettin' It?

## 1. The Study of American Government

**Marxist View**  
Economic Ends.

**Elitist View**  
A few top leaders  
See C. Wright Mills  
*The Power Elite*

**Bureaucrat View**  
Appointed Civil Servants  
See Max Weber

**Pluralist View**  
Competing Elites.  
No single elite monopoly

Direct Democracy vs. Representative Democracy

### Power

Ability to get another person to do what you want.

### Authority

Right to use power

### Legitimacy

Proper exercise of power and authority.

We train political animals

# The American Government Placemat

(The Big XII)

## Factors Influencing Public Policy

How do each of the factors listed below interact to shape public policy? You can write an essay on any public policy question if you understand the role of each of these factors and the linkage among factors even if you have minimal knowledge of the specific policy.

### Formal Institutions (Explicit in the Constitution)

#### Constitutional Principles

#### Federalism

\* Presidency - Executive Branch (Enforces Law)

#### Bureaucracy

\* Congress - Legislative Branch (Makes Law)

\* Courts - Judicial Branch (Interprets Law)

\*Consider recruitment, removal, formal powers, informal powers, internal structure, internal rules

### Informal Institutions (Developments outside of the Constitution)

#### Elections

#### Interest Groups

#### Media

#### Political Culture

#### Political Parties

#### Public Opinion

“Idealism without pragmatism is impotent - pragmatism without idealism is meaningless.”

Richard Nixon

# Key Government Vocabulary

Topical

Source: Lader, Curt. How to Prepare for the Advanced Placement Examination: U.S. Government and Politics. New York: Barron's Educational Series, Inc. 1996. Compiled and sorted by Mr. Larsen

## I. The Theory of Modern Government

**Direct Democracy**—type of government characterized by citizens attending a town meeting and voting on issues raised, with the majority prevailing.

**Elite and Class theory**—a group theory that revolves around an economic strata of society controlling the policy agenda.

**Government**—those institutions that create public policy.

**Hyperpluralism**—is a group theory characterized by many interest groups vying for control resulting in a government that is tied up in gridlock.

**Linkage institution**—the means by which individuals can express preferences regarding the development of public policy.

**Loose construction**—a liberal interpretation of the Constitution.

**Pluralism**—a group theory that involves different groups all vying for control of the policy agenda. No single group emerges, forcing the groups to compromise.

**Policy agenda**—agenda that results from the interaction of linkage institutions.

**Political party**—a group of people joined together by common philosophies and common approaches with the aim of getting candidates elected in order to develop and implement public policy. It is characterized by an organization that is responsible to the electorate and has a role in government.

**Politics**—who gets what, when, how, and why.

**Public policy**—the final action(s) taken by government in promotional, regulatory, or distributive form.

**Representative Democracy**—form of government that relies on the consent of the people and is often called a republican government.

**Strict constructionists**—individuals who believe in a conservative interpretation of the Constitution.

**Unitary system of government**—type of government that centralizes all the powers of government into one central authority.

## II. Constitutional Foundations

**Anti-Federalists**—led by Thomas Jefferson, one of the first political parties urging the rejection of the Constitution. Its members were farmers and represented the interest of the common people.

**Articles of Confederation**—the first adopted written constitution of the newly independent United States. Because of its weaknesses, the period of time it governed (1781-1789) became known as the critical period.

**Connecticut Compromise**—offered at the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia, it was

adopted by the delegates and created a bicameral legislature, where one house is represented by population, and the other house is represented by the states.

**Consent of the governed**—a derivative of the doctrine of natural rights; a philosophy, later adopted by Jefferson when he drafted the Declaration of Independence, that puts the authority of the government in the people's hands.

**Constitution**—provides the basic framework of government. It is the supreme law of the land.

**Declaration of Independence**—blueprint for the American Revolution containing three parts. The first part—an introduction including ideas such as natural rights as related to life, liberty and property, the consent of the governed and the concept of limited government. The second part—a list of grievances against the King of England and the third part—a declaration of independence.

**Democratic-Republicans**—led by Thomas Jefferson, they were characterized as the party of the "common man." They believed in a more limited role of the central government.

**Federalist Papers**—written using the pen name Publius; John Jay, Alexander Hamilton, and James Madison wrote a series of articles urging the adoption of the Constitution. They argued for establishing a government that could deal with "the tyranny of the majority" by creating three branches of government having distinctive and separate powers.

**Federalist Party**—headed by Alexander Hamilton, this party, made up of the country's upper class, supported a strong national government and set a policy agenda that would solve the nation's economic problems.

**Limited government**—derived from the doctrine of natural rights, it was adopted by Jefferson and restricts the power of government especially in the area of protecting the rights of the people.

**Natural rights**—part of Locke's philosophy; rights that are God given such as life, liberty, and property.

**New Jersey Plan**—offered at the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia, it urged the delegates to create a legislature based on equal representation by the states.

**Second Treatise of Civil Government**—written by John Locke, it contains the blueprint principles found in the Declaration of Independence.

**Shay's Rebellion**—a failed attempt by Daniel Shay, a farmer who lost his property, to revolt against the state government.

**Three-Fifths Compromise**—offered at the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia, it was adopted by the delegates and counted every five slaves as three people for representation and tax purposes.

**Unalienable rights**—rights such as life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, which are derived from the doctrine of natural rights.

**Virginia Plan**—offered at the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia, it urged the delegates to create a legislature based on the population of each state.

### III. The Constitution

**Bicameral**—a two-house legislature.

**Checks and balances**—a key aspect of the Constitution of the United States protecting the balance of power among the three branches of government. The concept was first suggested by James

Madison in the Federalist Papers.

**Elastic Clause**—found in Article I Section 8 of the Constitution, it gives Congress the power to make "all laws necessary and proper" to carry out the other defined powers of Congress.

**Electoral college** - consists of presidential electors from each state. The number of electors is based on the state's population. The states with the greatest population have the most electoral votes. When the voter casts a vote for president, in reality the vote goes to one of the presidential electors designated by the candidate in that state. The number of electors for each state equals the number of senators and representatives that state has in Congress. The candidate with a majority of the electoral votes is elected to office. If no candidate receives a majority, the House of Representatives will determine the outcome of the election.

**Enumerated powers**—delegated powers of Congress, including the power to collect taxes, pay debts, provide for the common defense and general welfare, regulate commerce among the states, coin money, and declare war.

**Ex post facto laws**—laws that take effect after the act takes place. Congress is prohibited from enacting this type of legislation.

**Executive privilege**—the ability of the president to protect personal material.

**Federalism**—the overall division of power between the federal government and state governments; as defined in the Tenth Amendment of the Constitution. It specifically tells the states that they have reserved powers. Powers not delegated to the government by the Constitution are given to the respective states.

**Full faith and credit**—phrase used to describe the mutual respect and legality of laws, public records, and judicial decisions made by states.

**Judicial review**—derived from the Marbury v Madison decision, it gives the Supreme Court the power to interpret the Constitution and specifically acts of Congress, the president, and the states.

**Preamble**—the introduction to the Constitution, outlining the goals of the document.

**Privileges and immunities**—the guarantees that the rights of a citizen in one state will be respected by other states. Also a clause in the Fourteenth Amendment that protects citizens from abuses by a state.

**Reserved Power Amendment**—found in the Tenth Amendment, it gives states powers not delegated to the national government.

**Separation of powers**—originally developed by Montesquieu in The Spirit of Natural Laws written during the Enlightenment and James Madison in Federalist No. 48, this important doctrine resulted in the establishment of three separate branches of government—the legislative, executive, and judicial branches, each having distinct and unique powers.

**Supremacy clause**—clause that states that "the Constitution, and the laws of the United States... shall be the supreme law of the land."

**Unwritten Constitution**—traditions, precedent, and practice incorporated into our form of



government that add to the Constitution's elasticity and its viability. Political parties, the president's cabinet, political action committees, and the federal bureaucracy are important examples.

#### IV. Federalism

**Block grants**—a form of fiscal federalism where federal aid is given to the states with few strings attached.

**Categorical grants**—include project and formula grants and aim at assisting the states in areas such as health, income security, and education.

**Competitive federalism**—began under Richard Nixon and known as the new federalism, this approach stressed the downsizing of the federal government and more reliance on revenue sharing and grants.

**Cooperative federalism**—developed during the New Deal, it is characterized by the federal government's becoming more intrusive in what were traditionally state powers.

**Creative federalism**—developed during President Lyndon Johnson's administration, it was characterized by the Great Society programs, which placed a major responsibility on federally funded programs.

**Dual federalism**—the earliest type of relationship established between the federal government and the states where the federal government's powers were defined as delegated and the state government's powers were reserved.

**Fiscal federalism**—a concept of federalism where funding is appropriated by the federal government to the states with specific conditions attached. The legislation can be in the form of mandates.

**Funded mandates**—those regulations passed by Congress or issued by regulatory agencies to the states with federal funds to support them.

**Layer cake federalism**—federalism characterized by a national government exercising its power independently from state governments.

**Marble cake federalism**—also known as cooperative federalism, it developed during the New Deal and is characterized by the federal government's becoming more intrusive in what was traditionally states' powers.

**Unfunded mandates**—those regulations passed by Congress or issued by regulatory agencies to the states without federal funds to support them.

#### V. The Bill of Rights and Civil Liberties

**Bill of Rights**—adopted in 1791 by the states two years after the ratification of the Constitution, it established the basis of civil liberties for Americans.

**Civil liberties**—those rights of the people that are protected by the Bill of Rights.

**Clear and Present Danger Doctrine**—established in *Schenck v United States* (1919), it gives the government the right to censor free speech if, during national emergencies such as war, it can be

proven that the result of the speech will significantly hurt national security.

**Cruel and unusual punishment**—doctrine found in the Eighth Amendment to the Constitution that prohibits the federal government from imposing excessive penalties for crimes committed.

**Double jeopardy**—legal concept wherein once a verdict is handed down, you cannot be tried again for the same crime.

**Establishment clause**—component of the First Amendment to the Constitution that defines the right of the citizens to practice their religions without governmental interference. It also places a restriction on government creating a "wall of separation" between church and state.

**Exclusionary rule**—rule that resulted from the *Mapp v Ohio* decision determining that police may obtain only that evidence that can be had through a legitimate search warrant. Other evidence found at the scene of the crime is not admissible, or is excluded, in the trial.

**Fighting words doctrine** - established in *Chaplinsky v New Hampshire* (1942), the decision incorporated into state law the concept that the government can limit free speech if it can be proved that the result of speech will cause physical violence.

**Gitlow v. New York** (1925)—landmark decision in that the Supreme Court incorporated the First Amendment to a state case for the first time.

**Incorporation of the Fourteenth Amendment**—doctrine that made the Bill of Rights apply to the states as a result of Supreme Court decisions. Even though the Fourteenth Amendment was ratified in 1868, incorporation started to take place in the 1920s. It reached a peak during the Warren Court in the late 1950s and 1960s.

**Indictment**—a formal list of charges made by a grand jury and guaranteed in the Fifth Amendment.

**Judicial federalism**—the extension of the Bill of Rights to the citizens of the states, creating a concept of dual citizenship, wherein a citizen was under the jurisdiction of the national government as well as state governments.

**Living will**—a legitimate document that can be used to direct a hospital to allow an individual to direct a medical facility not to use extraordinary means such as life support to keep a patient alive. The doctrine was declared constitutional in the case of *Cruzan v Missouri Department of Health* (1990).

**Miranda rights**—those rights directing police to inform the accused upon their arrest of their constitutional right to remain silent, that anything said could be used in court, that they have the right to consult with a lawyer at anytime during the process, that a lawyer will be provided if the accused cannot afford one, that the accused understand these rights, and that the accused has the right to answer any questions at any time and request a lawyer at any point.

**Procedural due process**—a series of steps that are established by the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Amendments that protect the rights of the accused at every step of the investigation.

**Separation of church and state**—Also known as the "establishment clause," it is part of the First Amendment to the Constitution prohibiting the federal government from creating a state-supported

religion.

**Substantive due process**—legal process that places limits related to the content of legislation and the extent government can use its power to enact unreasonable laws.

**Symbolic speech**—forms of free speech guaranteed under the First Amendment to the Constitution, such as wearing a black armband to protest a governmental action or burning an American flag in protest for political reasons.

## VI. Civil Rights: Equal Protection Under the Law

**Affirmative Action**—programs for minorities supported by government as a means of providing equality under the law.

**Americans with Disabilities Act (1991)**—act that required employers, schools, and public buildings to reasonably accommodate the physical needs of handicapped individuals by providing such things as ramps and elevators with appropriate facilities.

**Brandeis Brief**—a friend of the court opinion offered by Louis Brandeis, in the Supreme Court case Muller v Oregon (1908), which spoke about inherent differences between men and women in the workplace.

**Civil rights**—the application of equal protection under the law to individuals.

**De facto segregation**—segregation of schools and other public facilities through circumstance with no law supporting it.

**De jure segregation**—segregation by law, made illegal by Brown v Board of Education.

**Immigration Act of 1991**—act that shifted the quota of immigrants to Europe and aimed to attract immigrants who were trained workers.

**Jim Crow laws**—legislation that legalized segregation even after the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment.

**Nationalization of the Bill of Rights**—a judicial doctrine of the Fourteenth Amendment that applied the Bill of Rights to the states in matters such as segregation.

**Plessy v Ferguson (1896)**—case that ruled that states had the right to impose "separate but equal" facilities on its citizens as well as create other laws that segregated the races.

**Seneca Falls Convention**—in 1848, Elizabeth Cady Stanton led the fight for political suffrage and supported a doctrine very similar in nature to the Declaration of Independence called the Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions. It became a rallying document in the fight for women's rights.

**Separate but equal**—the judicial precedent established in the Plessy v Ferguson decision that enabled states to interpret the equal protection provision of the Fourteenth Amendment as a means of establishing segregation.

## VII. The Presidency

**Bully pulpits**—the ability to use the office of the presidency to promote a particular program and/or to influence Congress to accept legislative proposals.

**Cabinet**—part of the "unwritten Constitution," it was first established by George Washington and includes federal departments such as state, defense etc.

**Chief executive**—used to describe the president. Powers found in Article II of the Constitution.

**Executive office of the president**—created by Franklin Roosevelt in 1939; it has four major policy making bodies today—the National Security Council, the Council of Economic Advisors, the Office of Management and Budget, and the Office of National Drug Control Policy.

**Imperial presidency**—term developed by historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr.; refers to presidents who dominate the political and legislative agenda.

**Line item veto**—policy that would allow the president to veto selectively what he considers unnecessary spending items contained in legislation.

**National Security Council**—chaired by the president, it is the lead advisory board in the area of national and international security. The other members of the council include the vice president, secretaries of state and defense, director of the Central Intelligence Agency, and chair of the joint chiefs of staff.

**Pocket veto**—rejection of legislation that occurs if the president does not sign a bill within 10 days and the Congress also adjourns within the same time period.

**Riders**—amendments to bills, often in the form of appropriations, that sometimes have nothing to do with the intent of the bill itself and many times are considered to be pork barrel legislation.

**Senatorial courtesy**—policy that gives senators the right to be notified by the president of pending judicial nominations. Once informed, the approval of the senators from the state from which the judge comes is obtained and the appointment process moves on. This courtesy does not apply to Supreme Court justice nominations.

**Trial balloons**—selective leaks aimed at testing the political waters.

**White House staff**—managed by the White House Chief of Staff, who directly advises the president on a daily basis, it includes the more than 600 people who work at the White House, from the chef to the advance people who make travel arrangements. The key staff departments include the political offices of the Office of Communications, Legislative Affairs, Political Affairs, and Intergovernmental Affairs. It includes the support services of Scheduling, Personnel, and Secret Service and the policy offices of the National Security Affairs, Domestic Policy Affairs, and cabinet secretaries.

## VIII. The Congress

**Baker v Carr** (1962)—case that established the principle of one man, one vote. This decision created guidelines for drawing up congressional districts and guaranteed a more equitable system of representation to the citizens of each state.

**Cloture**—the process in which it takes 60 senators to cut off a filibuster and is aimed at protecting minority interests.

**Conference committee**—a committee consisting of senators and representatives that meets to resolve differences in legislation.

**Congressional oversight**—power used by Congress to gather information useful for the formation of legislation, review the operations and budgets of executive departments and independent regulatory agencies, conduct investigations through committee hearings, and bring to the public's attention the need for public policy.

**Distributive policy**—results in the government giving benefits directly to people, groups, farmers, and businesses. Typical policies include subsidies, research and development funds for corporations, and direct government aid for highway construction and education.

**Gerrymandering**—state legislatures, based on political affiliation, create congressional districts, many of which are oddly shaped and favor the political party in power in the state making the changes.

**Gridlock**—describes people's perception that Congress and the president are in a state of disagreement that results in little legislation passing.

**Imperial Congress**—describes a Congress that succeeds in establishing itself as dominant in legislative and foreign policy.

**Incumbents**—those elected officials who are running for new terms of office.

**Logrolling**—a tactic used in Congress that is best illustrated by one legislator saying to another, "I'll vote for your legislation, if you vote for mine."

**Pork barrel legislation**—the practice of legislators obtaining funds through legislation that favors their home districts.

**President pro tempore**—temporary presiding officer of the Senate.

**Reapportionment**—the process in which a state legislature redraws congressional districts based on population increases or declines.

**Reapportionment Act of 1929**—act that provides for a permanent size of the House and for the number of seats, based on the census, each state should have.

**Redistributive policy**—policy that results in the government taking money from one segment of the society through taxes and giving it back to groups in need. It includes such policies as welfare, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, tax credits for business expenses or business investment, and highway construction made possible through a gasoline tax.

**Regulatory policy**—policy that results in government control over individuals and businesses. Examples of regulatory policy include protection of the environment and consumer protection.

**Select committees**—specially created congressional committees that conduct special investigations. The Watergate Committee and Iran-Contra investigators were select Senate committees.

**Speaker of the House**—the representative from the majority party in the House of Representatives

who presides over House meetings, recognizes speakers, refers bills to committees, answers procedural questions, and declares the outcome of votes.

**Standing committees**—committees that deal with proposed bills and also act in an oversight function. They are permanent, existing from one Congress to the next, such as the House Ways and Means and Senate Appropriations.

**Whips**—also known as assistant floor leaders, they check with party members and inform the majority leader of the status and feelings of the membership regarding issues that are going to be voted on. Whips are responsible for keeping party members in line and having an accurate count of who will be voting for or against a particular bill.

## IX. The Judiciary

**Amicus curiae**—"friend of the court"; briefs that may be sent to support the position of one side or the other.

**Cases of equity**—those cases that cannot be resolved under common law precedent.

**Civil law**—deals with contract issues and tort cases such as negligence and slander and defines the legal rights of individuals.

**Common law**—based on the legal concept of stare decisis, or judicial precedent.

**Constitutional courts**—courts that were formed to carry out the direction in the Constitution so that the Courts would exercise their judicial power.

**Criminal law**—cases that derive from criminal laws passed by the federal and state governments.

**Fletcher v Peck** (1810)—decision that established the precedent that the Supreme Court could rule a state law unconstitutional.

**Gibbon v Ogden** (1824)—case established the principle that Congress has sole authority over interstate commerce.

**Judicial activism**—a philosophy of judicial review that results in decisions that overturn precedent.

**Judicial restraint**—a court that maintains the status quo or mirrors what the other branches of government have established as current policy.

**Judiciary committee**—key Senate committee that is responsible for recommending presidential judicial appointments to the full Senate for approval.

**Marshall Court**—John Marshall's tenure as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, whose leadership resulted in the landmark decisions of Marbury v Madison, McCulloch v Maryland, and Gibbons v Ogden. These cases shifted power to the judiciary and federal government.

**McCulloch v Maryland** (1819)—case that established the principle that the federal government was supreme over the state.

**Original jurisdiction**—cases heard by the Supreme Court that do not come on appeal and that "affect ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party.

**Public law**—includes constitutional law (cases involving constitutional issues), and administrative law (cases involving disputes over the jurisdiction of public or administrative agencies).

**Special courts**—courts created by Congress to deal with cases deriving from the delegated powers of Congress such as military appeals, tax appeals, and veteran appeals.

**Stare decisis**—Latin for judicial precedent, this concept originated in England in the twelfth century when judges settled disputes based on custom and tradition.

**Writ of certiorari**—Latin for "to be made more certain," the process in which the Supreme Court accepts written briefs on appeal based on the "rule of four" justices voting to hear the case.

## X. The Bureaucracy

**Acquisitive bureaucracies**—organizations that are self-perpetuating and demand funding that will result in the continued existence of the agency.

**Bureaucracies**—large administrative agencies reflecting a hierarchical authority, job specialization, and rules and regulations that drive them.

**Civil Service Reform Act (1978)**—law that replaced the Civil Service Commission with the Office of Personnel Management and the Merit Systems Protection Board. These agencies are responsible for enforcing existing civil service laws, coordinating the testing of applicants, setting up pay scales, and appointing people to federal jobs.

**Division of labor**—skilled workers each have a specialized function, resulting in increased productivity.

**Government corporation**—such as the Tennessee Valley Authority, created during the New Deal, having specific responsibilities that facilitate a specific operation of the government.

**Hatch Act (1939)**—law that places restrictions on the kind of political activity a federal employee may participate in.

**Independent regulatory agencies**—agencies that are quasi legislative and quasi judicial in nature and operation. Examples include the Food and Drug Administration and Environmental Protection Agency.

**Iron triangle network**—the interrelationship among bureaucracies, the government, interest groups, and the public, which also establishes a pattern of relationships among an agency in the executive branch, Congress, and one or more outside clients of that agency.

**Monopolistic bureaucracies**—organizations where there is no competitive equal, such as the Social Security Administration, that also exists in the private sector. Thus the citizen is forced to deal with that particular government agency.

**Pendleton Act**—known as the Civil Service Act of 1883, it set up merit as the criterion for hiring, promoting, and firing federal employees.

**Quasi-judicial**—a characteristic of independent regulatory agencies that gives them judicial power to interpret regulations they create.

**Quasi-legislative**—a characteristic of independent regulatory agencies that gives them legislative powers to issue regulations.

**Red tape** - used to describe the difficulty it takes to get answers from a bureaucratic agency.

**REGO**—better known as reinventing government, the plan introduced by President Clinton and Vice President Gore that called for reducing the federal work force by 12 percent, updating information systems, eliminating wasteful programs and procedures, and cutting red tape.

**Regulatory policy**—policy that results in government control over individuals and businesses. Examples of regulatory policy include protection of the environment and consumer protection.

## XI. Political Parties and Political Action

**McGovern-Fraser Commission**—commission that brought significant representation changes to the party. It made future conventions more democratic by including more minority representation.

**National committee**—the governing body of a political party made up of state and national party leaders.

**National nominating conventions**—the governing authority of the political party. They give direction to the national party chairperson, the spokesperson of the party, and the person who heads the national committee, the governing body of the party. They are also the forums where presidential candidates are given the official nod by their parties.

**New Democrat**—a term created by the Democratic Leadership Council in 1992, it denotes a more conservative, centrist Democrat.

**Party dealignment**—a shift away from the major political parties to a more neutral, independent ideological view of party identification.

**Party eras**—a time period characterized by national dominance by one political party. There have been four major party eras in American history—the era of good feeling, the Republican era following the Civil War, the Democratic era following the election of Franklin Roosevelt, and the Republican era following the election of Richard Nixon.

**Party machine**—the party organization that exists on the local level and uses patronage as the means to keep the party members in line. Boss Tweed and Tammany Hall are examples.

**Party platforms**—voted on by the delegates attending the National Convention, they represent the ideological point of view of a political party.

**Party realignment**—the signaling resulting from a national election or a major shift in the political spectrum and characterized by the start of a party era.



**Political participation**—the different ways an average citizen gets involved in the political process ranging from conventional means of influencing government to more radical unconventional tools that have influenced our elected officials.

**Political party**—a group of people joined together by common philosophies and common approaches with the aim of getting candidates elected in order to develop and implement public policy. It is characterized by an organization that is responsible to the electorate and has a role in government.

**Reagan Democrats**—traditional Democratic middle-class voters turning to Ronald Reagan during the 1980s.

**Religious right**—an evangelical conglomeration of ultraconservative political activists, many of whom support the Republican Party.

**Superdelegates**—Democratic party leaders and elected party officials who automatically are selected as delegates to the National Convention.

**Third political parties**—political parties that can be described as ideological, single-issue oriented, economically motivated, and personality driven. Examples include the Free Soil Party, Know Nothings, Populist, and Bull Moose Parties.

## XII. Nominations, Campaigns, and Elections

**Caucus**—party regulars meeting in small groups asking questions, discussing qualifications regarding the candidate, and voting on whether to endorse a particular candidate. The Iowa caucus has taken on almost as much importance as the New Hampshire primary because of its timing.

**Convention bump**—an increase reflected in presidential preference polls immediately following a party's nominating convention.

**Direct primary**—voters, including cross-over voters from other political parties, can express a preference for candidates.

**Dual primary**—where presidential candidates are selected and a separate slate of delegates is also voted on. New Hampshire uses this type of primary.

**Favorite son**—the presidential candidate backed by the home state at the party's nominating convention.

**Gender gap**—a significant deviation between the way men and women vote.

**High-tech campaign**—a major characteristic of the modern presidential campaign. The use of paid political ads, 30- and 60-second spots, paid infomercials incorporating charts and graphs, and sophisticated polling techniques have all been used in recent campaigns.

**Infomercials**—paid political commercials usually lasting longer than the average 30- or 60-second paid political ad.

**Keynote address**—key speech at the national nominating convention that outlines the themes of the campaign.

**Matching funds**—limited federal funds given to presidential candidates that match private donations raised during the campaign.

**Non-preferential primary**—where voters choose delegates who are not bound to vote for the winning primary candidate.

**Party caucus**—also known as the party conference, it is a means for each party to develop a strategy or position on a particular issue.

**Party regulars**—enrolled party members who are usually active in the organization of a political party and support party positions and nominated candidates.

**Political action committees**—known as PACs, they raise money from the special interest constituents and make contributions to political campaigns on behalf of the special interest group.

**Presidential primary**—elections held in individual states to determine the preference of the voters and to allocate the number of delegates to the party's national convention.

**Super Tuesday**—the Tuesday on which a number of primary votes take place, with a heavy concentration of Southern states voting.

**Thirty-second spots**—paid political ads 30 seconds in duration.

### XIII. Voting Behavior: The Impact of Public Opinion and the Media

**Civil Rights Act of 1964**—act that prohibited the use of any registration requirement that resulted in discrimination and paved the way for the involvement of the federal government to enforce the law.

**Fairness doctrine**—scrapped in 1987, it provided that the media air opposing opinions of the same issue.

**Literacy laws**—declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, they were passed by southern states after the Civil War aimed at making reading a requirement for voting so that freed slaves could not vote.

**Mass media**—consisting of television, radio, newspapers, and magazines, they reach a large segment of the population. It is also considered one of the linkage institutions.

**Motor Voter Act of 1993**—signed into law by President Clinton, it enables people to register to vote at motor vehicle departments.

**Photo ops**—photo opportunities.

**Political socialization**—the factors that determine voting behavior such as family, religion, and ethnic background.

**Poll tax**—made illegal by the Twenty-Fourth Amendment to the Constitution, it was a tax instituted by mainly southern states as a condition to vote and had the effect of preventing African Americans from voting.

**Public opinion polls**—scientific surveys aimed at gauging public preference of candidates and issues.

**Simpson-Marzzoli Act (1987)**—act that resulted in more than 2 million illegal aliens who were living in this country since 1982 being allowed to apply for legal status.

**Solid South**—dominance by the Democratic Party in the South following the Civil War. The Republicans made strong inroads when Ronald Reagan was elected President in 1980 and after the Republicans gained control of the Congress in 1994.

**Sound bites**—30- or 60-second statements by politicians aired on the evening news shows or Sunday morning talk shows.

**Suffrage**—the right to vote guaranteed to African Americans in the Fourteenth Amendment and women in the Nineteenth Amendment.

**Information superhighway**—a linked conglomerate of computer-generated information also known as the Internet.

**Talking heads**—politicians who use sound bites or other means to present a superficial look at a policy position rather than an in-depth approach in explaining their views.

**Voting Rights Act of 1965**—act that finally made the Fifteenth Amendment a reality. As a result of this act, any state not eliminating the poll tax and literacy requirements would be directed to do so by the federal government. It also resulted in the establishment of racially gerrymandered congressional districts in the 1980s and 1990s.

#### XIV. Special Interest Groups - Lobbyists and PACs

**Campaign finance reform**—legislation aimed at placing limits on political candidates accepting money and gifts from individuals and special interest groups.

**Elite and Class theory**—a group theory that revolves around an economic strata of society controlling the policy agenda.

**Freedom of Information Act (1974)**—act that incorporates sunshine laws; opened up the government's meetings of record to the public and media.

**Hyperpluralism**—is a group theory characterized by many interest groups vying for control resulting in a government that is tied up in gridlock (Hyperdemocracy).

**Interest group**—a public or private organization, affiliation, or committee that has as its goal the dissemination of its membership's viewpoint.

**Lobbyists**—the primary instruments of fostering a special interests group's goals to the policy makers. The term comes from people who literally wait in the lobbies of legislative bodies for senators and representatives to go to and from the floor of the legislatures.

#### XV. The Economy

**Consumer Price Index (CPI)**—a primary measure of inflation determined by the increase in the cost of products compared to a base year.

**Discount rates**—interest levels established by the Federal Reserve that effect the ability of the consumer to borrow money. Raising and lowering rates is used as a tool to combat inflation.

**Distributive policy**—results in the government giving benefits directly to people, groups, farmers, and businesses. Typical policies include subsidies, research and development funds for corporations, and direct government aid for highway construction and education.

**Federal Reserve System**—federal body that regulates the money supply by controlling open-market operations; buying and selling of government securities; and establishing reserve requirements, the legal limitations on money reserves that banks must keep against the amount of money they have deposited in Federal Reserve Banks and through discount rates, and the rate at which banks can borrow money from the Federal Reserve System.

**Fiscal policy**—policy that determines how the economy is managed as a result of government spending and borrowing and the amount of money collected from taxes.

**Gross Domestic Product (GDP)**—currently the key economic measure that analyzes an upward or downward economic trend of the monetary value of all the goods and services produced within the nation on a quarterly basis.

**Gross National Product (GNP)**—the total of all goods and services produced in a year.

**Laissez faire**—French term literally meaning "hands off." Used to describe an economic philosophy of non-government intervention in economic matters such as regulation of business or establishing tariffs.

**Norris-LaGuardia Act (1932)**—act that prohibited employers from punishing workers who joined unions and gave labor the right to form unions.

**Price supports**—the government's price guarantees for certain farm goods. The government subsidizes farmers to not grow certain crops and also buys food directly and stores it, rather than let the oversupply in the market bring the prices down.

**Redistributive policy**—policy that results in the government taking money from one segment of the society through taxes and giving it back to groups in need. It includes such policies as welfare, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, tax credits for business expenses or business investment, and highway construction made possible through a gasoline tax.

**Regulatory policy**—policy that results in government control over individuals and businesses. Examples of regulatory policy include protection of the environment and consumer protection.

**Wagner Act**—also called the National Labor Relations Act of 1935, it gave workers involved in interstate commerce the right to organize labor unions and engage in collective bargaining and prevented employers from discriminating against labor leaders and taking action against union leaders.

## XVI. The Federal Budget

**Balanced budget**—public policy that advocates that the federal budget spend as much money as it receives. Attempt made to pass a constitutional amendment mandating this policy failed.

**Congressional Budget Office**—set up by the Congress, this office evaluates the cost of legislative proposals.

**Continuing resolution**—emergency spending legislation that prevents the shutdown of any department simply because its budget has not been enacted.

**Deficit spending**—the government's meeting budgetary expenses by borrowing more money than it can pay back.

**Direct tax**—money paid directly to the government in the form of income taxes.

**Indirect tax**—money paid to the government as a result of purchased goods.

**Office of Management and Budget (OMB)**—its director, appointed with the consent of the Senate, is responsible for the preparation of the massive federal budget, which must be submitted to the Congress in January each year. Besides formulating the budget, the OMB oversees congressional appropriations.

## XVII. Social Welfare and Entitlements

**Block grants**—a form of fiscal federalism where federal aid is given to the states with few strings attached.

**Culture of poverty** - the establishment of an income level by government that references the point at which an individual is considered to be living in poverty.

**Entitlements**—those benefits guaranteed by law paid to individuals by the federal government, such as Social Security.

**Flat tax**—an alternative to the progressive income tax where individuals pay the same percentage regardless of how much they earn.

**Food stamp program**—federally funded program gives food coupons to low income people based on income and family size.

**Income distribution**—the portion of national income that individuals and groups earn.

**Medicaid**—a shared program between the federal and local governments that covers hospital and nursing home costs of low-income people.

**Medicare**—program that covers hospital and medical costs of people 65 years of age and older as well as disabled individuals receiving Social Security.

**Poverty line**—references the point at which an individual is considered living in what has been called a "culture of poverty."

**Progressive tax**—a tax based upon the amount of money an individual earned, such as an income tax. Became legal as a result of the ratification of the Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

**Regressive tax**—a tax that is imposed on individuals regardless of how much they earn, such as a sales tax.

**Safety net**—a minimum government guarantee that ensures that individuals living in poverty will receive support in the form of social welfare programs.

**Social welfare**—Entitlement programs such as Social Security and programs such as Aid to Dependent Children paid for by the federal government.

**Workfare**—an alternative to the traditional welfare, where an individual is trained to work instead of receiving welfare.

## XVIII. The Environment and Energy

**Clean Air Act (1970)**—law that established national standards for states, strict auto emissions guidelines, and regulations, which set air pollution standards for private industry.

**Clean Water Act**—passed in 1987, this law established safe drinking standards and creates penalties for water polluters.

**Endangered species**—wildlife threatened by extinction, many protected by the Endangered Species Act.

**Environmental Protection Agency**—regulates air and water pollution, pesticides, radiation, solid waste, and toxic substances. It is the main environmental regulatory agency.

**National energy policy**—public policy dealing with the consumption and protection of natural resources.

**National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA)**—1969 legislation that required government agencies to issue environmental impact statements with the Environmental Protection Agency whenever they proposed policies that could negatively affect the environment.

**Non-renewable resources**—those natural resources such as oil, which based on consumption, are limited.

**Nuclear Regulatory Commission**—created as a part of the Energy Reorganization Act of 1974, it was given jurisdiction to license and regulate commercial use of nuclear technologies and monitor waste storage and transportation of materials arising from its use.

**Renewable resources**—those natural resources such as solar energy that can be used over again.

**Superfund**—legislation that mandated the cleanup of abandoned toxic waste dumps and authorized premarket testing of chemical substances. It allowed the EPA to ban or regulate the manufacture, sale, or use of any chemicals that could present an "unreasonable risk of injury to health or environment," and outlawed certain chemicals such as PCBs.

## **XIX. Foreign Policy and the National Defense**

**Antiballistic Missile Treaty of 1972**—treaty wherein America and the Soviet Union agreed to limit antiballistic missile sites and interceptor missiles.

**Brinkmanship**—going close to the edge of an all out war in order to contain communism.

**Cold war**—an era of American foreign policy lasting from the end of World War II (1945) to the collapse of the Soviet Union (1991) where American policy was defined as containment of communism.

**Collective security**—agreement to form through treaties mutual defense arrangements, such as NATO, which guarantee that if one nation is attacked, other nations will come to its defense.

**Containment**—official foreign policy of the United States between 1945 and 1991 that was predicated on stopping the spread of communism.

**Detente**—a foreign policy started by Richard Nixon and supported by Ronald Reagan that resulted in an improvement of relations with the Soviet Union during the cold war.

**Domino theory**—suggestion that if one country fell to communism, others would fall like dominoes.

**Eisenhower Doctrine**—doctrine that stated readiness to use armed forces to aid Middle Eastern countries threatened by communist aggression.

**Favorable balance of trade**—refers to a country exporting more than they import. The United States has had an unfavorable balance of trade since World War II.

**General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)**—agreement wherein new trade barriers should be avoided by member nations, existing tariffs should be eliminated, and protective tariffs should be used only for emergency situations.

**Global interdependence**—the degree of linkage among the community of nations.

**Good neighbor policy**—a foreign policy established by Franklin Roosevelt that aimed at improving relations with Latin America.

**Intermediate Nuclear Force (INF) Treaty**—agreement that called for destruction of a large part of the most dangerous nuclear warheads, the intermediate range missiles.

**Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces Treaty of 1987**—agreement that provided for the dismantling of all Soviet and American medium- and short-range missiles and established a site inspection procedure.

**International Monetary Fund (IMF)**—a clearing house for member nations to discuss monetary issues and develop international plans and policies to deal with monetary issues. Regulating monetary exchange rates is its primary task.

**Isolationism**—United States foreign policy between World War I and World War II, which resulted in the United States staying out of European affairs. Rejection of the League of Nations and Treaty of

Versailles were examples of isolationist policy.

**Manifest Destiny**—policy pursued in the early to late 1800s that was based upon the belief that it was God's will for the United States to expand its borders to the Pacific..

**New world order**—President Bush's vision for world peace centering around the United States taking the lead to ensure that aggression be dealt with by a mutual agreement of the United Nations, NATO, and other countries acting in concert.

**North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)**—agreement that called for dramatic reductions of tariffs among the United States, Canada, and Mexico.

**Nuclear Test Ban Treaty of 1963**—agreement that banned atmospheric testing of nuclear weapons.

**Partnership for peace**—President Clinton announced in 1993 a policy that allowed for the gradual recognition of new member nations from the former Warsaw Pact and gave the designation of associate status in NATO to Russia.

**Return to normalcy**—a campaign theme of Warren Harding referring to a belief that the United States should turn inward after World War I.

**Strategic Arms Limitation Talk (SALT) Treaty**—agreement signed by President Nixon in 1972 that resulted in the first arms reductions since the nuclear age began.

**Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty of 1972**—known as SALT II, the treaty never passed the Senate as a result of Russia's invasion of Afghanistan. However, in 1986 many of the reductions were carried out by both sides.

**Strategic Arms Reductions Treaty (START) of 1991**—treaty between the United States and Russia that agreed to major reductions in their nuclear arsenals.

**Truman Doctrine**—policy that supported people in Greece and Turkey in resisting communism after World War II.





# Beltway Buzzwords

An Advanced Placement Look at the Assiduous Words Used in the Political Arena

“With words we govern men”

Disraeli

**buzzword** n. jargon; or, a vague vogue word intended to trigger a stereotyped response. In a 1974 book, *Buzzwords*, Robert Kirk Mueller defined the word on the cover as “words, phrases or zingo-lingo used by an ingroup, a cult, or the cognoscenti for rapid communication within the group...it refers also to the verbal, intellectual one-upmanship of the cant, slang, jargon, argot and pseudo-tribal language, used by relatively small groups for their own benefit and to help isolate the group from the hoi polloi...a sort of pro’s prose.”<sup>1</sup>

## Politics

### **Inside the Beltway**

Geographically, within the Capital Beltway surrounding Washington D.C.; metaphorically, minutiae of government gossip of interest only to pundits and lobbyists, but a yawner to the Real World Out There.

### **arena**

Place of political combat for the clash of ideologies and personalities. The original Latin sense of arena is “a sandy place,” the center of an amphitheater where sand was scattered to absorb the blood of gladiators.

### **body politic**

Any group governed by any means. The metaphor linking human anatomy to the system of government can be found in Plato’s Republic.

### **beanbag**

What politics ain’t. “His early experience,” wrote Finley Peter Dunne of his creation, saloon keeping philosopher Mr. Dooley, “gave him wisdom in discussing public affairs. ‘Politics,’ he says, ‘ain’t beanbag. ‘Tis a man’s game; an’ women, childher, an’ pro-hybitionists’d do well to keep out iv it,’” (Preface Mr. Dooley in Peace and War, 1898; it had been used earlier by Dunne, on October 5, 1895, in an essay in the Chicago Evening Post.

### **policy wonk**

A grimly serious scholar of the tedious side of public affairs; stiff staffer steeped in study. In the 1992 election, both Bill Clinton and Al Gore were known to delight in the minutiae of program development, causing Meg Greenfield of *Newsweek* to refer to them as “tough, ambitious, leadership-minded policy wonks.”

### **on the fence**

Undecided; unwilling to take a position; straddling. In its original use, “on the fence” meant refusing to take a firm stand for or against a candidate or issue and was an attack phrase. That sense continues, but a new use has arisen: to be “on the fence” is not all bad, because it shows that a political figure is considering all the alternatives.

### **flip-flop**

A U-turn, or reversal of position; a sudden shift of opinion. Both noun and verb have become common in political attacks. Usually pejorative and brings an irate denial.

### **John Q. Public**

The mythical average man, or *man in the street*; often cartooned as bespectacled, long-suffering, cald in a barrel, but eternally optimistic. In the 15th century his name was *Everyman*.

military men who shape national policy no matter who is elected. The phrase was the title of a book (1956) by sociologist C. Wright Mills, who held that “neither professional party politicians, nor professional bureaucrats are now at the centers of decision. These centers are occupied by the political directorate of the power elite.”

**New  
Federalism**

A political philosophy that seeks to wed the need for national action with the desire for much greater local participation. The phrase was coined, and idea expounded, in a speech to the nation by President Nixon on August 8, 1969. “After a third of a century of power flowing from the people and the States to Washington it is time for a New Federalism in which power, funds and responsibility will flow from Washington to the States and to the people.

**skunk at  
the garden  
party**

A hyperethical stiff, seen as undesirable in a gathering of broad-minded pragmatists; a single problem that has the potential to vex or annoy. More vivid than the cliched *fly in the ointment*.

**kooks**

Extremists; far-right or left-wingers; distinguished by hate campaigns, occasional scruffiness, and unconventional political behavior.

**above  
politics**

A stance taken most often by generals and businessmen dissociating themselves from partisan strife, often in the hope of attracting political support from opposing sides.

Media

**fourth  
estate**

The press. Books of quotations usually credit Edmund Burke with coinage, thanks to a citation by historian Thomas Carlyle in *Heroes and Hero-Worship*, written in 1839: “Burke said that there were three estates in Parliament; but, in the Reporters’ Gallery yonder, there sat a Fourth Estate more important far than them all.”

**pundit**

A political analyst, usually associated with a prestigious newspaper or broadcasting network; a harmless noodge.

**pseudo  
event**

Contrived news; a happening that is made to take place for the purpose of the coverage it will get, or centered on people famous for being well known. The phrase is historian Daniel Boorstin’s, coined in his 1962 book *The Image; or, What Happened to the American Dream?* Boorstin, who later became Librarian of Congress, held that American life has become unreal, based on illusion and images, with heroes replaced by celebrities.

**media  
event**

An occasion so stage-managed for wide coverage that the coverage becomes more important than the occasion.

**soundbite**

Snappy snippet of taped comment or news. Often the phrase is used to derogate the superficiality of the quick takes - down to an average of eight seconds in the early 1990s - of TV and radio news.

**hack**

Attack word on a long-time politician; a political drudge. The word is derived from the hackney horse in England, a horse that was let out for hire, usually mistreated, and became dull, broken-down, and exhausted.

**credibility  
gap**

The chasm that sometimes exists between public office and the public’s trust.

<b>daisy spot</b>	Political advertising; anti-war commercial. To torpedo his Republican opponent Barry Goldwater, Lyndon Johnson in his 1964 Presidential campaign used an advertisement aimed at underscoring the challenger as a warmongering extremist.
<b>dope story</b>	Information leaked to a reporter and published as his own analysis; useful method of launching trial balloons or conditioning public opinion.
<b>out of the loop</b>	Not informed; outside the circuit of news or information. The antonymic phrase, <i>in the loop</i> , means “informed; among those consulted,” often implying a tight circle.
<b>image</b>	Persona; the impression that is left by the merchandising of reputation. Political images and image-makers are post-World War II offspring of television and big-league advertising and public relations.
<b>face time</b>	Brief face-to-face meeting with someone important; being noticed by a significant audience; impressing a superior or employer by being in his or her presence.
<b>arm chair strategist</b>	One who pontificates about world events; a sofa sophist. Architect Frank Lloyd Wright claimed in 1938 that “armchair education” was the reason Americans did not realize how discredited their culture was in the eyes of the world.
<b>movers and shakers</b>	Opinion leaders; influentials, especially those who are political or economic activists.

### Political Parties

<b>rank and file</b>	The broad range of party members; the Troops, more active than the average voter registered with a party.
<b>card carrying</b>	Committed; firmly a member of; dedicated. Senator Joseph McCarthy revived the phrase in the early fifties with his charge that there were “card-carrying Communists” in the State Department.
<b>platform</b>	Ideally, the standards to which the wise and honest voters can repair; in practice, a list of principles and positions designed to attract most and offend least, important mainly in the work it gives a convention to do other than select a candidate.
<b>cowboy</b>	A political rebel, usually one opposed to party discipline.
<b>dime’s worth of difference</b>	A minor-party sneer at the similarity between the two major parties. The phrase was central to the presidential campaign of Alabama Governor George Wallace in 1968.
<b>Dixiecrat</b>	Southern Democrats who bolted the national party in 1948 in opposition to President Truman’s civil rights platform.
<b>dyed-in-the-wool</b>	Descriptive of an all-out partisan, proud of his party label; most often used about Democrats.
<b>closing ranks</b>	The act of healing wounds after a battle for nomination and achieving party unity in the general election.

<b>boll weevil</b>	A Southern conservative Democrat. A small beetle which infests and destroys cotton plants.
<b>bleeding hearts</b>	An ultraconservative view of ultraliberals, as those whose “hearts bleed” for the poor, who are “suckers” for every “sob story,” and who place tax burdens on all in a mistaken effort to cure social ills.
<b>limousine liberal</b>	One who takes up hunger as a cause but has never felt a pang; who will talk at length about the public school system but sends his children to private schools.
<b>bigwig</b>	Party leader; humorous or sardonic reference to the higher-ups. Probably derived from the British law courts, where persons of importance wear large white wigs.
<b>maverick</b>	One who is unorthodox in his political views and disdainful of party loyalty, who bears no man’s brand.

**Yellow Dog Democrat**

An unswerving party loyalist; used only as a compliment.

**big tent**

The theory that a political party is a spacious home for debate, and not a cozy bungalow that permits only a narrow political ideology. The current synonym is “politics of inclusion.”

**backbencher**

A legislator of low seniority; a steadfast supporter of party leaders.

**power base**

A politician's foundation of support, usually his home district or state.

**partisan**

Praised as basic to the two party system, the adversary system of arriving at truth in government; attacked as introducing unnecessary strife, placing party advantage above the public interest.

**bipartisan**

Interplay cooperation on a matter that is essentially political; nonpartisan means interparty cooperation on matters nonpolitical.

Voting

**turnout**

The number of voters on Election Day; also, the size of a partisan crowd. Not everyone is impressed by the need to turn out the vote. There was, for instance, the proverbial little old lady, quoted by comedian Jack Paar, who firmly stated, “I never vote. It only encourages them.”

**split ticket**

A ballot cast by a voter without regard for party slates. A party regular will vote a straight ticket; an independent is more likely to vote a split ticket, choosing a candidate for governor from one party, a senator from another, an assemblyman possibly from a third.

**Tweedledum & Tweedledee**

Literary characters (Lewis Carroll, *Alice in Wonderland*) used to attack the similarity of the two parties by those who claim to see not a “dime’s worth of difference.”

**amen corner**

Automatic support; political followers who echo the party line.

**swing voter**

One who votes for the man, not the party; the independent vote that often “swings” elections one way or the other.

<b>grass roots</b>	The ultimate source of power, usually patronized, occasionally feared; the rank and file of a party, or voters not normally politically active. The word has become an adjective, meaning “of or among ordinary citizens.”
<b>silent vote</b>	The unmeasurables, who may or may not turn out. The phrase is most often used today by apologists for candidates who are far behind in the public opinion polls.
<b>bubba factor</b>	The potential influence of Southern conservatives on an issue or election.
<b>primary</b>	An intraparty election to select candidates for a forthcoming general election.
<b>ballot box stuffing</b>	Vote fraud; originally, the illegal insertion of paper votes into the ballot box, with or without the connivance of local election officials.
<b>balanced ticket</b>	A slate of candidates nominated so as to appeal to as many voter groups as possible. Typical considerations in balancing a ticket: the nominees’ geographic origin, race or religion, type of experience, position on specific issues, coloration (record).
<b>dream ticket</b>	Politician’s vision of a combination of candidates with an unbeatable appeal, simultaneously unifying the party’s divergent wings; rarely comes true.
<b>crossover vote</b>	A theory that a primary in one party can be affected substantially by the votes of members of an opposition party. The crossover theory holds that the crossover voter is fickle, or mischievous, or only interested in voting in the more hotly contested primary, and intends to come “home” to the party in which he is registered later in the general election.
<b>bullet vote</b>	One in which the voter enters the booth determined to pull the lever for one candidate and no other on the same or any competing ticket.

### Campaigns

<b>whirlwind campaign</b>	A busy campaign, usually of short duration.
<b>favorite son</b>	A candidate who holds a state’s votes together at a convention for brokerage purposes; not a serious candidate for the presidency, but one who seeks a trading position with a chance as a compromise candidate or Vice President.
<b>pollster</b>	One who measures public opinion, especially with an eye to predicting election results. “A pinch of probably is worth a pound of perhaps,” wrote James Thurber.
<b>Solid South</b>	The supposed monolithic vote of the Southern states for the Democratic party, used now more in the breach than in the observance. “In 1924 Senator Coleman L. Blease, Democrat of South Carolina, was alarmed to learn that Republican Calvin Coolidge had won 1123 of 50,131 votes cast in South Carolina in the presidential race. ‘I do not know where he got them,’ Blease supposedly said. ‘I was astonished to know they were cast and shocked to know they were counted,’” (Harry Dent, <i>The Prodigal South Returns to Power</i> , 1978).
<b>waffle</b>	To straddle or refuse to commit; to use weasel words. The word is derived from <i>waff</i> ,

	a Scottish word for wave.
<b>mudslinging</b>	Wild, unsubstantiated charges. “Throw plenty of dirt and some of it will be sure to stick,” <i>The Barber of Seville</i> , 1775.
<b>ticket</b>	The slate of candidates, running as a team.
<b>pressing the flesh</b>	Handshaking; any form of physical contact between candidate and voter.
<b>darkhorse</b>	A long-shot candidate for nomination, usually the second or third choice of many delegates, whose best chance for selection lies in a deadlock of the leading candidates. The phrase was used in a novel by the young Benjamin Disraeli, <i>The Young Duke</i> , published in 1831: “A dark horse which had never been thought of, and which the careless St. James had never even observed in the list, rushed past the grandstand in sweeping triumph.”
<b>dirty tricks</b>	As “Department of Dirty Tricks,” the nickname of the covert operations of the Central Intelligence Agency; since the Watergate scandals, a disapproving term for campaign smears and disruptive activities of a “black advance.”
<b>middle of the road</b>	The place where most U.S. national political candidates, Democrat and Republican, take their stand; the land equivalent of the mainstream.
<b>lightweight</b>	A shallow public figure behind an impressive facade; a politician lacking either intellect, grasp of administrative detail, or guts. Used as an attack word.
<b>hat in the ring</b>	Announcement of active candidacy.
<b>handlers</b>	Managers of political candidates; aides who “handle” candidates. Those in the business of coaching political figures never call themselves <i>handlers</i> ; they prefer <i>consultants</i> or <i>advisers</i> .
<b>cult of personality</b>	Promotion of personal adulation, as contrasted with collective leadership.
<b>brokered convention</b>	A party convention at which many key delegations are committed to favorite sons, thus cutting down the first-ballot strength of the serious contenders for the nomination, and resulting in bloc bargaining. In 1972, the proliferation of primaries and erosion of the “unit rule” made brokerage more difficult, though not impossible.
<b>bandwagon</b>	A movement appealing to the herd instinct of politicians and voters to be on the winning side in any contest.
<b>spin</b>	Deliberate shading of news perception; attempted control of political reaction. <i>Spin</i> terms have spun several derivatives, from <i>spin control</i> by <i>spin doctors</i> or <i>spinmeisters</i> who have formed a <i>spin patrol</i> operating in an area called <i>spin valley</i> .
<b>shoo-in</b>	A certain winner; a candidate who can only be defeated by a political miracle.
<b>slate</b>	A list of candidates, presented as a “package”; hopefully, take-one-take-all.
<b>“are you any better off...”</b>	Question to measure voter satisfaction (or to trigger dissatisfaction) with political leadership. The question, first of a series, was burned into the political lexicon by

Ronald Reagan at the conclusion of his October 28, 1980, televised debate with President Jimmy Carter in Cleveland, Ohio.

- alarmist** One who attempts to arouse fear; sometimes a person who is easily frightened and transmits panic to others. The retaliatory words are usually “smug” and “complacent,” using the symbol of an ostrich with its head in the sand.
- advance man** One who arranges for publicity, protocol, transportation, speaking schedules, conferences with local government officials, and all the details smoothing the way for a political figure.
- stump** As a noun, the campaign trail; as a verb, to exhort informally, usually outdoors, in a campaign. By 1838 it was part of the American political vocabulary.
- labels** Oversimplified identification of ideological position; widely used and universally deplored by politicians unwilling to be pigeon-holed.
- psephology** The study of elections and voting behavior.

### Interest Groups

- Eastern Establishment** A cluster of legal, financial, and communications talent centered in New York, generally liberal Republicans in politics; not an organized group but influential all the same.
- lobby** A verb, to attempt, as a private citizen or group, to influence governmental decisions and particularly legislative votes; as a noun, a group organized for this purpose. The word is akin to the Old High German *lauba*, meaning a shelter of foliage. The lobby was a public room, and thus one in which Members of Parliament could be approached by special pleaders, with or without protective foliage.
- fat cat** A man of wealth, particularly an important contributor to political campaigns. The phrase is both derogatory and respectful, since few politicians can go far without such supporters.
- pressure group** Attack phrase on a lobbying organization or block advancing its own cause. Although in Madison’s view (Federalist 10) factions could operate for good or evil, the phrase “pressure group” has a bad connotation.

### Judicial

- blue slip** An individual senator’s approval of a presidential nomination, the lack of which, in some cases, results in withdrawal of a nomination. The “blue slip” is the currency of Senatorial Courtesy.
- bork** Attack viciously a candidate or appointee, especially by misrepresentation in the media. This verb is based on the name of Judge Robert H. Bork, whose nomination to the U.S. Supreme Court in 1987 by Ronald Reagan was rejected by the Senate after an extensive media campaign by his opponents.
- Supreme Court follows the election returns** A view that the supposedly dispassionate and disinterested Supreme Court bench usually reflects the current political scene. Chief Justice Hughes once said, “We are under a Constitution, but the Constitution is what the judges say it is.” By and large, the members of the Court reflect their time and the judgments of the populace.

## Executive Branch

<b>administration</b>	Regime; the government of a specific leader.
<b>honeymoon period</b>	The short time after first taking office during which a public official is not set upon by the press. “Kingdoms have their honeymoon,” wrote Thomas Fuller in 1655, “when new Princes are married unto them.” The shortest honeymoon on record for any President was recounted by columnist Murray Kempton in the <i>New York Post</i> in December 1977. Colonel Robert McCormick, late publisher of the <i>Chicago Tribune</i> , was watching the news tickers in his office in March of 1929, as President Herbert Hoover’s inaugural address was being dispatched. After the fourth paragraph he fired his response to his Washington bureau: “This man Hoover wont do. McCormick.”
<b>coattails</b>	Political carrying power; the ability to attract and hold support, not only for oneself but for other members of a ticket.
<b>all things to all men</b>	Deliberate ambivalence; two-facedness. The phrase is used against a politician who makes conflicting promises in an effort to win an election or gain political advantage.
<b>ankle-biters</b>	Annoying or small-minded bureaucrats; pettifogging aides. This hyphenated term replaces the 1970s <i>munchkins</i> or the 1980s <i>weenies</i> .
<b>bean counter</b>	Accountant; keeper of financial records or statistics; in recent usage, a derogation of one who seeks to hold politicians to perceived promises of racial or sexual quotas.
<b>blooper</b>	A exploitable mistake; a slip of the tongue, or unthinking comment, that can be seized upon by the opposition. A <i>blooper</i> is worse than a <i>goof</i> or <i>boner</i> , more adult than a <i>boo-boo</i> , not as serious as a <i>flub</i> or <i>blunder</i> , equivalent to a <i>gaffe</i> . Repeated commission of any results in a description of having foot-in-mouth disease.
<b>bigger bang for the buck</b>	More efficient use of defense appropriations, relying largely on nuclear deterrents.
<b>blue ribbon panel</b>	A jury or committee chosen on the basis of intelligence or special experience to investigate particularly complex or important matters.
<b>boon doggle</b>	Any project on which government funds are wasted through inefficiency or political favoritism; originally a make-work project, using government funds to stimulate the economy.
<b>brain trust</b>	A group of advisers to a candidate or incumbent, prized more for their expertise in particular fields and intimacy with their patron than for their official position or rank.
<b>briefing book</b>	Political game plan; notes to prepare a candidate or politician on wide-ranging subjects.
<b>bully pulpit</b>	Active use of the Presidency’s prestige and high visibility to inspire or moralize. Theodore Roosevelt, a President of expansive character, took an unrestricted view of his job. In the many controversies during his two administrations, he never hesitated to take his case directly to the people from a Presidency he called a “bully pulpit.”
<b>cattleshow</b>	Public gathering of Presidential candidates during a primary.



<b>egghead</b>	An intellectual; a highbrow. When used derogatively, an effete, bookish person with intellectual pretensions; when used affirmatively, a person with brains.
<b>running mate</b>	A candidate running on the same ticket, for a lower office; most often used in connection with the vice-presidential nominee.
<b>red tape</b>	Bureaucratic sluggishness; unnecessary paperwork; administrative delay.
<b>mandate</b>	The authority to carry out a program conferred on an elected official; especially strong after a landslide victory.
<b>kitchen cabinet</b>	Informal advisers to the President who, while holding only minor offices themselves - or none at all - exert more influence on policy than the real cabinet because of their close personal relations with the Chief Executive.
<b>executive privilege</b>	The right claimed by a President to withhold information from Congress or the Judiciary. Because its use was discredited in Watergate, the phrase is rarely chosen.
<b>empty chair</b>	A phrase dramatizing an opponent's refusal to debate.
<b>trial balloon</b>	A testing of public reaction by suggestion of an idea through another person, causing no embarrassment to the author if the reaction is not good.
<b>"I'd rather be right"</b>	Henry Clay's statement that began as an example of his idealism but now has a flavor of sour grapes. "I would rather be right than be President." (Contrast this with a recent comment made by former President Clinton to a beleaguered Democratic Party constituency: "We [Democrats] have got to be strong. When we look weak in a time where people feel insecure, we lose. When people feel uncertain, they'd rather have somebody who's strong and wrong than somebody who's weak and right.")

### Congress

<b>the Hill</b>	Capitol Hill; term for the legislative branch of the U.S. government, as White House is for the executive branch.
<b>bread-and-butter issue</b>	A pocket-book issue, one that effects voters' personal budgets. Other like-minded expressions include paramount issue, gut issue, or hot-button issue.
<b>junket</b>	Nonpolitical trip; fact-finding trip.
<b>Byzantine</b>	Machiavellian; characterized by scheming, double-crossing, backbiting and similarly nefarious behavior often attributed to the denizens of the center of power; or, labyrinthine, arcane, mysteriously complex.
<b>cloakroom</b>	Congressional meeting places just off the Senate and House floors, where members of Congress confer, trade, and gossip. The "cloakrooms" of the Capitol came to mean not a place to hang a hat but a place to bargain.
<b>curmudgeon</b>	A likeably irascible old man. In politics, a cantankerous, outspoken older politician with a talent for invective.
<b>demagogue</b>	One who appeals to greed, fear, and hatred; a spellbinding orator, careless with facts and a danger to rational decision. This is one of the enduring, slashing attack words

of politics.

**Devil is in the details**

The smallest particulars may prove the most troubling; a need to attend to the tiniest details. The nit pickers' creed.

**filibuster**

A technique by which a minority of senators attempts to defeat or alter a measure favored by the majority through the device of continuous talking, or when a senator dramatically calls public attention to a bill he considers is being "railroaded through." The entire process rests upon the Senate's pride in itself as the world's foremost chamber of enlightened debate. A similar technique in the Japanese Diet is the "cow-waddle," used to delay a vote and express minority displeasure. As the vote is called, opposition members individually waddle - with infinite slowness, stopping to chat along the way - to the ballot box on the rostrum.

**gerrymander**

Drawing of political lines by the party in power so as to perpetuate its power; designing a district to fit a voting pattern.

**incumbent**

In office; running against a challenger. In almost every political race, the incumbent has an edge.

**sleeper**

A amendment slipped into a bill to nullify or alter its intent; or, a piece of legislation whose significance is not realized until after it has been passed.

**rider**

A provision added to a bill not necessarily germane to the bill's purpose. Riders, carried to an extreme, result in "Christmas Tree Bills." Explained Alan Otten in the *Wall Street Journal* : "On Capitol Hill, the practice of tagging a host of special-interest amendments to a popular bill is known as 'Christmas treeing' the bill."

**pork barrel**

The state or national treasury into which politicians and government officials dip for "pork," or funds for local projects. The phrase is probably derived from the pre-Civil War practice of periodically distributing salt pork to the slaves from huge barrels.

**one-man one-vote**

A slogan urging reapportionment of legislatures so that each legislator represents approximately the same number of people.

**logrolling**

Mutual aid among politicians, especially legislators who must vote on many items of economic importance in individual states and districts. The classic description of the theory of logrolling is attributed to Simon Cameron, Pennsylvania politician who served as Lincoln's first Secretary of War: "You scratch my back and I'll scratch yours."

**lame duck**

An officeholder whose power is diminished because he is soon to leave office, as a result of defeat or statutory limitation. The "lame-duck" amendment was finally ratified in 1933 as the Twentieth Amendment to the Constitution. Previously the incoming President was forced to wait until March to assume office while the old Congress - some of whose members had been retired at the last election - met in December and held nominal legislative powers until March.

**entitlement**

A right to benefits that ought to be provided by government or, to opponents of the growth of federal spending, a euphemism for "welfare." Due to its abuses, now generally used pejoratively.

**do-nothing Congress**

Harry Truman's epithet for the 1947-48 Republican-controlled session that rejected much of his program. In recent times, both Ross Perot and Bill Clinton attacked

legislative impasse by complaining of “gridlock.”

**devolution**

A transfer of power from a central government to a region or locality; sometimes used as a euphemism for secession or separation. In a general sense, *devolution* is a synonym for “power sharing.”

**government of law not men**

A maxim that suggests there is little human weakness in the administration of justice; or, that all stand equal before the bar. John Adams, in his preamble to the Massachusetts Constitution in 1778, used the phrase as his ultimate political goal: “In the government of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts the legislative, executive and judicial power shall be placed in separate departments, to the end that it might be a government of laws, not of men.”

“Oratorical success does not ensure political success, as can be seen, but those among us who love the political language - and realize what it can do to uplift and lead - hold out the hope that it helps.”

William Safire



# 100 Words That All High School Graduates — And Their Parents — Should Know

## Editors of The American Heritage® College Dictionary Release Their List of Top 100 Words for High School Graduates' Vocabulary

BOSTON, MA - The quality of a person's vocabulary has a direct effect on his or her success in college and in the workplace. In response to parents' misgivings over the quality of their children's education, the editors of **The American Heritage® College Dictionary** have compiled a list of 100 words they recommend each high school graduate should know.

"The words we suggest," says **The American Heritage® College Dictionary** senior editor Steven Kleinedler, "are not meant to be exhaustive but are a benchmark against which graduates and their parents can measure themselves. If you are able to use these words correctly, you are likely to have a superior command of the language."

Following is the entire list of 100 words selected by American Heritage editors:

**ab·jure** (b-jr) *tr.v.* **-jured, -jur·ing, -jures** **1.** To renounce under oath; forswear. **2.** To recant solemnly; repudiate: *abjure one's beliefs*. **3.** To give up (an action or practice, for example); abstain from. [Middle English *abjuren* < Old French *abjurer* < Latin *abirre* : *ab-*, away; see **ab-** **1** + *irre*, to swear.] —**abju·ration** *n.* —**ab·jurer** *n.*

**ab·ro·gate** (br-gt) *tr.v.* **-gat·ed, -gat·ing, -gates** To abolish, do away with, or annul. [Latin *abrogare*, *abrogt-* : *ab-*, away; see **ab-** **1** + *rogre*, to ask; see *reg-* in App.] —**abro·gation** *n.*

**ab·ste·mi·ous** (b-stm-s, b-) *adj.* **1.** Eating and drinking in moderation. **2a.** Sparingly used or consumed. **b.** Restricted to bare necessities. [From Latin *abstmius* : *abs-*, *ab-*, away; see **ab-** **1** + *\*tmum*, liquor variant of *tmtum*.] —**ab·stemi·ous·ly** *adv.* —**ab·stemi·ous·ness** *n.*

**ac·u·men** (ky-mn, -ky-) *n.* Quickness and keenness of judgment or insight. [Latin *acmen* < *acuere*, to sharpen < *acus*, needle; see *ak-* in App.]

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The pronunciation (-kymn), with stress on the second syllable, is an older, traditional pronunciation reflecting the word's Latin origin. In recent years it has been supplanted as the most common pronunciation of the word by a variant with stress on the first syllable, (ky-mn). In a recent survey, 68 percent of the Usage Panelists chose this as their pronunciation, while 29 percent preferred the pronunciation with stress on the second syllable. The remaining 3 percent of the Panelists said they use both pronunciations.  
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**an·te·bel·lum** (nt-blm) *adj.* Belonging to the period before a war, esp. the American Civil War. [From Latin *ante bellum*, before the war : *ante*, before; see **ante** + *bellum*, war.]

**aus·pi·cious** (ô-spshs) *adj.* **1.** Attended by favorable circumstances; propitious. See Syns at **favorable**. **2.** Successful; prosperous. —**aus·picious·ly** *adv.* —**aus·picious·ness** *n.*

**be·lie** (b-l) *tr.v.* **-lied, -ly·ing, -lies** **1.** To picture falsely; misrepresent: "*He spoke roughly in order to belie his air of gentility*" (James Joyce) **2.** To show to be false: *His smile belied his ire*. **3.** To be counter to; contradict. [Middle English *bilien* < Old English *belogan*, to deceive with lies; see *leugh-* in App.] —**be·lier** *n.*

**bel·li·cose** (bl-ks) *adj.* Warlike in manner or temperament; pugnacious. [Middle English < Latin *bellicus* < *bellicus*, of war < *bellum*, war.] —**belli·cosely** *adv.* —**belli·cosi·ty** (-ks-t) *n.*

**bowd·ler·ize** (bdl-rz, boud-) *tr.v.* **-ized, -iz·ing, -iz·es** **1.** To expurgate (a book, for example) prudishly. **2.**

To modify, as by shortening or simplifying or by skewing content. [After Thomas *Bowdler* (1754–1825), who expurgated Shakespeare.] — **bowdler-ism** *n.* — **bowdler-i-zation** (-lɪr--zʃn) *n.* — **bowdler-izer** *n.*

**chi-can-er-y** (ʃh-kn-r, ch-) *n., pl. -ies* **1.** Deception by trickery or sophistry. **2.** A trick; a subterfuge.

**chro-mo-some** (krm-sm) *n.* **1.** A threadlike linear strand of DNA and associated proteins in the nucleus of eukaryotic cells that carries the genes and functions in the transmission of hereditary information. **2.** A circular strand of DNA in bacteria that contains the hereditary information necessary for cell life. — **chromo-somal** (-sml), **chromo-somic** (-smk) *adj.* <— **chromo-somal-ly** *adv.*

**churl-ish** (chûrlʃ) *adj.* **1.** Of, like, or befitting a churl; boorish or vulgar. **2.** Having a bad disposition; surly. **3.** Difficult to work with, such as soil; intractable. — **churlish-ly** *adv.* — **churlish-ness** *n.*

**cir-cum-lo-cu-tion** (sûrkm-l-kyʃn) *n.* **1.** The use of unnecessarily wordy and indirect language. **2.** Evasion in speech or writing. **3.** A roundabout expression. [Ultimately < Latin *circumlocti*, *circumloctin-* < *circumloctus*, past participle of *circumloqu* : *circum-*, *circum-* + *loqu*, to speak.] — **circum-locu-tori-ly** (-lky-tôr-l, -tr-) *adv.* — **circum-locu-tory** (-tôr, -tr) *adj.*

**cir-cum-nav-i-gate** (sûrkm-nv-gt) *tr.v.* **-gat-ed, -gat-ing, -gates** **1.** To proceed completely around: *circumnavigating the earth*. **2.** To go around; circumvent. — **circum-navi-gation** *n.* — **circum-navi-gator** *n.*

**de-cid-u-ous** (d-sj-s) *adj.* **1.** Falling off or shed at a specific season or stage of growth: *deciduous antlers*. **2.** Shedding or losing foliage at the end of the growing season: *deciduous trees*. **3.** Not lasting; ephemeral. [From Latin *dciduus* < *dcidere*, to fall off : *d-*, *de-* + *cadere*, to fall.] — **de-cidu-ous-ly** *adv.* — **de-cidu-ous-ness** *n.*

**del-e-te-ri-ous** (dl-tîr-s) *adj.* Having a harmful effect; injurious. [< Greek *dltrios* < *dltr*, destroyer < *dleisthai*, to harm.] — **de-le-teri-ous-ly** *adv.* — **de-le-teri-ous-ness** *n.*

**dif-fi-dent** (df-dnt, -dnt) *adj.* **1.** Lacking or marked by a lack of self-confidence; shy and timid. See Syns at **shy** **1.** **2.** Reserved in manner. [Middle English < Latin *diffdns*, *diffdent-*, present participle of *diffdere*, to mistrust : *dis-*, *dis-* + *fdere*, to trust; see *bheidh-* in App.] — **diffi-dent-ly** *adv.*

**en-er-vate** (nr-vt) *tr.v.* **-vat-ed, -vat-ing, -vates** **1.** To weaken or destroy the strength or vitality of. See Syns at **deplete**. **2.** *Medicine* To remove a nerve or part of a nerve. § *adj.* (-nûrvt) Deprived of strength; debilitated. [Latin *nervre*, *nervt-* : -, *ex-*, *ex-* + *nervus*, sinew.] — **ener-vation** *n.* — **ener-vative** *adj.* — **ener-vator** *n.*

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Sometimes people mistakenly use *enervate* to mean "to invigorate" or "to excite" by assuming that it is a close cousin of *energize*. In fact, *enervate* means essentially the opposite. It comes < Latin *nervus*, "sinew," and thus means "to cause to become 'out of muscle'," that is, "to weaken or deplete of strength." It has no historical connection with *energize*.  
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**en-fran-chise** (n-frnchz) *tr.v.* **-chised, -chis-ing, -chis-es** **1.** To bestow a franchise on. **2.** To endow with the rights of citizenship, esp. the right to vote. **3.** To free, as from bondage. [Middle English *enfranchisen* < Old French *enfranchir*, *enfranchiss-*, to set free : *en-*, intensive pref.; see **en-** **1** + *franchir* (< *franc*, free; see **frank** **1**).] — **en-franchisement** *n.*

**e-piph-a-ny** (-pf-n) *n., pl. -nies* **1. Epiphany** A Christian feast celebrating the manifestation of the divine nature of Jesus to the Gentiles as represented by the Magi, traditionally observed on January 6. **2.** A revelatory manifestation of a divine being. **3a.** A sudden manifestation of the essence or meaning of something. **b.** A comprehension or perception of reality by means of a sudden intuitive realization. [Middle English *epiphanie* < Old French < Late Latin *epiphania* < Greek *epiphaneia*, manifestation < *epiphainesthai*, to appear : *epi-*, forth; see **epi-** + *phainein*, *phan-*, to show.] — **epi-phanic** (p-fnk) *adj.*

**equinox** (kw-nks, kw-) *n.* **1.** Either of two points on the celestial sphere at which the ecliptic intersects the celestial equator. **2.** Either of the two times during a year when the sun crosses the celestial equator and when day and night are of approximately equal length. [Middle English < Old French *equinoxe* < Medieval Latin *aequinoxium* < Latin *aequinoctium* : *aequi-*, *equi-* + *nox, noct-*, night; see *nekw-t-* in App.]

**euro** or **Eu-ro** (yr) *n., pl. -ros* or **-ro's** The basic unit of currency among members of the European Monetary Union. [After Europe.]

**evanescent** (v-nsnt) *adj.* Vanishing or likely to vanish like vapor. — **evanescently** *adv.*

**expurgate** (kspr-gt) *tr.v.* **-gat-ed, -gat-ing, -gates** To remove erroneous, vulgar, obscene, or otherwise objectionable material from (a book, for example) before publication. [Latin *exprgre, exprgt-*, to purify : *ex-*, intensive pref.; see **ex-** + *prgre*, to cleanse.] — **expurgation** *n.* — **expurgator** *n.*

**facetious** (f-shs) *adj.* Playfully jocular; humorous. [French *facétieux* < *facétie*, jest < Latin *factia* < *factus*, witty.] — **facetiously** *adv.* — **facetiousness** *n.*

**fatuous** (fch-s) *adj.* **1.** Vacuously, smugly, and unconsciously foolish. **2.** Delusive; unreal. [From Latin *fatuus*.] — **fatuously** *adv.* — **fatuousness** *n.*

**feckless** (fkls) *adj.* **1.** Feeble or ineffective. **2.** Careless and irresponsible. [Scots *feck*, effect (alteration of effect) + *-less*.] — **fecklessly** *adv.* — **fecklessness** *n.*

**fiduciary** (f-dsh-r, -sh-r, -dy-, f-) *adj.* **1a.** Of or relating to a holding of something in trust for another. **b.** Of or being a trustee or trusteeship. **c.** Held in trust. **2.** Of or consisting of fiat money. **3.** Of, relating to, or being a system of marking in the field of view of an optical instrument that is used as a reference point or measuring scale. § *n., pl. -ies* One, such as a company director, that has a special relation of trust or responsibility in certain obligations to others. [Latin *fdcirius* < *fdcia*, trust; see **fiducial**.]

**filibuster** (fl-bstr) *n.* **1a.** The use of obstructionist tactics, esp. prolonged speechmaking, in order to delay legislative action. **b.** An instance of the use of this delaying tactic. **2.** An adventurer who engages in a private military action in a foreign country. § *v.* **-tered, -ter-ing, -ters** — *intr.* **1.** To use obstructionist tactics in a legislative body. **2.** To take part in a private military action in a foreign country. — *tr.* To use a filibuster against (a legislative measure, for example). [< Spanish *filibustero*, freebooter < French *flibustier* < Dutch *vrijbuiter*, pirate; see **freebooter**.] — **filibusterer** *n.*

**gamete** (gmt, g-mt) *n.* A reproductive cell having the haploid number of chromosomes, esp. a mature sperm or egg capable of fusing with a gamete of the opposite sex to produce the fertilized egg. [New Latin *gameta* < Greek *gamet*, wife and *gamets*, husband < *gamein*, to marry < *gamos*, marriage.] — **gametic** (-mtk) *adj.*

**gauche** (gsh) *adj.* Lacking social polish; tactless. [French awkward < Old French < *gauchir*, to turn aside, walk clumsily, of Germanic origin.] — **gauchely** *adv.* — **gaucheness** *n.*

**gerrymander** (jr-mndr, gr-) *tr.v.* **-dered, -der-ing, -ders** To divide (a geographic area) into voting districts so as to give unfair advantage to one party in elections. § *n.* **1.** The act, process, or an instance of gerrymandering. **2.** A district or configuration of districts differing widely in size or population because of gerrymandering. [After Elbridge Gerry + (sala)mander (< the shape of an election district created while Gerry was governor of MA).]

**hegemony** (h-jm-n, hj-mn) *n., pl. -nies* The predominant influence, as of a state, region, or group, over another or others. [Greek *hgemoni* < *hgemn*, leader < *hgeisthai*, to lead.] — **hegemonic** (hj-mnk) *adj.* — **hegemonism** *n.* — **hegemonist** *adj. & n.*

*Hegemony* may be stressed on either the first or second syllable, though 72 percent of the Usage Panel prefers the latter.

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**he·mo·glo·bin** (hm-glbn) *n.* The iron-containing respiratory pigment in red blood cells of vertebrates, consisting of about 6 percent heme and 94 percent globin. [Ultimately short for *hematinoglobulin* : hematin + globulin.]

**ho·mo·ge·ne·ous** (hm-jn-s, -jnys) *adj.* **1.** Of the same or similar nature or kind. **2.** Uniform in structure or composition. **3. Mathematics** Consisting of terms of the same degree or elements of the same dimension. [From Medieval Latin *homogeneous* < Greek *homogens* : *homo-*, homo- + *genos*, kind; see **heterogeneous**.] — **homo·gene·ous·ness** *n.*

**hu·bris** (hybrs) also **hy·bris** (h-) *n.* Overbearing pride or presumption; arrogance. [Greek excessive pride, wanton violence; see *ud-* in App.] — **hu·bristic** (-brstk) *adj.* — **hu·bristic·al·ly** *adv.*

**hy·pot·e·nuse** (h-ptn-s, -ys) also **hy·poth·e·nuse** (-pth-ns, -nys) *n.* The side of a right triangle opposite the right angle. [Latin *hypotnsa* < Greek *hupoteinousa* < feminine present participle of *hupoteinein*, to stretch or extend under : *hupo-*, hypo- + *teinein*, to stretch; see *ten-* in App.]

**im·peach** (m-pch) *tr.v.* **-peached, -peach·ing, -peach·es** **1a.** To accuse. **b.** To charge (a public official) with improper conduct in office before a proper tribunal. **2.** To challenge the validity of; try to discredit: *impeach one's credibility*. [Middle English *empechen*, to impede, accuse < Anglo-Norman *empecher* < Late Latin *impedicere*, to entangle : Latin *in-*, in; see **in-** **2** + Latin *pedica*, fetter; see *ped-* in App.] — **im·peacher** *n.* — **im·peachment** *n.*

**in·cog·ni·to** (nkg-nt, n-kgn-t) *adv. & adj.* With one's identity disguised or concealed. § *n., pl. -tos* **1.** One whose identity is disguised or concealed. **2.** The condition of having a disguised or concealed identity. [Italian < Latin *incognitus*, unknown : *in-*, not; see **in-** **1** + *cognitus*, past participle of *cognoscere*, to learn, recognize; see **cognition**.]

**in·con·tro·vert·i·ble** (n-kntr-vûrt-bl, nkn-) *adj.* Impossible to dispute; unquestionable. — **in·contro·verti·bili·ty** *n.* — **in·contro·verti·bly** *adv.*

**in·cul·cate** (n-klkt, nkl-) *tr.v.* **-cat·ed, -cat·ing, -cates** **1.** To impress (something) upon the mind of another by frequent instruction or repetition; instill: *inculcating sound principles*. **2.** To teach (others) by frequent instruction or repetition; indoctrinate. [Latin *inculcre*, *inculct-*, to force upon : *in-*, on; see **in-** **2** + *calcre*, to trample (< *calx*, *calc-*, heel).] — **in·cul·cation** *n.* — **in·cul·cator** *n.*

**in·fra·struc·ture** (nfr-strkchr) *n.* **1.** An underlying base or foundation, esp. for an organization or a system. **2.** The basic facilities, services, and installations needed for the functioning of a community or society, such as transportation and communications systems.

**in·ter·po·late** (n-tûrp-lt) *v.* **-lat·ed, -lat·ing, -lates** — *tr.* **1.** To insert or introduce between other elements or parts. **2a.** To insert (material) into a text. **b.** To insert into a conversation. **3.** To change or falsify (a text) with new or incorrect material. **4. Mathematics** To estimate a value of (a function or series) between two known values. — *intr.* To make insertions or additions. [Latin *interpolre*, *interpolt-*, to touch up, refurbish < *interpolis*, refurbished; see *pel-* **2** in App.] — **in·terpo·lation** *n.* — **in·terpo·lative** *adj.* — **in·terpo·lator** *n.*

**i·ro·ny** (r-n, r-) *n., pl. -nies* **1a.** The use of words to express something different from and often opposite to their literal meaning. **b.** An expression or utterance marked by irony. **c.** A literary style employing irony for humorous or rhetorical effect. **2a.** Incongruity between what might be expected and what actually occurs. **b.** An occurrence, result, or circumstance notable for such incongruity. See Usage Note at **ironic**. **3.** Dramatic irony. **4.** Socratic irony. [French *ironie* < Old French < Latin *rna* < Greek *eirneia*, feigned ignorance < *eirn*, dissembler probably < *eirein*, to say; see *wer-* **1** in App.]

**je·june** (j-jn) *adj.* **1.** Not interesting; dull. **2.** Lacking maturity; childish. **3.** Lacking in nutrition. [From Latin *iinus*, meager, dry, fasting.] —**je·junely** *adv.* —**je·juneness** *n.*

**ki·net·ic** (k-ntk, k-) *adj.* **1.** Of, relating to, or produced by motion. **2.** Relating to or exhibiting kinesis. [Greek *kntikos* < *kntos*, moving < *knein*, to move; see *kei-* **2** in App.] —**ki·neti·cal·ly** *adv.*

**kow·tow** (kou-tou, koutou) *intr.v.* **-towed, -tow·ing, -tows** **1.** To kneel and touch the forehead to the ground in expression of deep respect, worship, or submission, as formerly done in China. **2.** To show servile deference. § *n.* **1.** The act of kneeling and touching the forehead to the ground. **2.** An obsequious act. [From Chinese (Mandarin) *kòu tóu*, a kowtow : *kòu*, to knock + *tóu*, head.]

**lais·sez faire** also **lais·ser faire** (ls fâr, lz) *n.* **1.** An economic doctrine that opposes governmental regulation of or interference in commerce. **2.** Noninterference in the affairs of others. [French : *laissez*, let + *faire*, to do.] —**laissez·faire** *adj.*

**lex·i·con** (lks-kn) *n., pl. -cons or -ca* (-k) **1.** A dictionary. **2.** A stock of terms used in a particular profession, subject, or style; a vocabulary. **3. Linguistics** The morphemes of a language considered as a group. [Medieval Latin < Greek *lexikon* (*biblion*), word(book), neuter of *lexikos*, of words < *lexis*, word < *legein*, to speak; see *leg-* in App.]

**lo·qua·cious** (l-kwshs) *adj.* Very talkative; garrulous. [< Latin *loquax*, *loquc-* < *loqu*, to speak.] —**lo·quacious·ly** *adv.* —**lo·quacious·ness, lo·quaci·ty** (l-kws-t) *n.*

**lu·gu·bri·ous** (l-gbr-s, -gy-) *adj.* Mournful, dismal, or gloomy, esp. to an exaggerated or ludicrous degree. [From Latin *lgubris* < *lgre*, to mourn.] —**lu·gubri·ous·ly** *adv.* —**lu·gubri·ous·ness** *n.*

**met·a·mor·pho·sis** (mt-môrf-ss) *n., pl. -ses* (-sz) **1.** A transformation, as by magic or sorcery. **2.** A marked change in appearance, character, condition, or function. **3. Biology** Change in the form and often habits of an animal during normal development after the embryonic stage. **4. Pathology** A usu. degenerative change in the structure of a particular body tissue. [Latin *metamorphosis* < Greek < *metamorphoun*, to transform : *meta-*, meta- + *morph*, form.]

**mi·to·sis** (m-tss) *n., pl. -ses* (-sz) *Biology* **1.** The process in cell division by which the nucleus divides, normally resulting in two new nuclei, each of which contains a complete copy of the parental chromosomes. **2.** The entire process of cell division including division of the nucleus and the cytoplasm. [Greek *mitos*, warp thread + *-osis*.] —**mi·totic** (-ttk) *adj.* —**mi·toti·cal·ly** *adv.*

**moi·e·ty** (moi-t) *n., pl. -ties* **1.** A half. **2.** A part, portion, or share. **3.** Either of two kinship groups based on unilateral descent that together make up a tribe or society. [Middle English *moite* < Old French *meitiet*, *moitie* < Late Latin *mediets* < Latin middle < *medius*, middle; see *medhyo-* in App.]

**nan·o·tech·nol·o·gy** (nn-tk-nl-j) *n.* The science and technology of building electronic circuits and devices from individual atoms and molecules. —**nano·tech·nolo·gist** *n.*

**ni·hil·ism** (n-lzm, n-) *n.* **1. Philosophy a.** An extreme form of skepticism that denies all existence. **b.** A doctrine holding that all values are baseless and that nothing can be known or communicated. **2.** Rejection of all distinctions in moral or religious value and a willingness to repudiate all previous theories of morality or religious belief. **3.** The belief that destruction of existing political or social institutions is necessary for future improvement. **4.** also >**Nihilism** A movement of mid 19th-century Russia that believed in radical societal and governmental change through terrorism and assassination. **5. Psychology** A delusion that the world or one's mind, body, or self does not exist. [Latin *nihil*, nothing; see *ne* in App. + *-ism*.] —**nihil·ist** *n.* —**nihil·istic** *adj.* —**nihil·isti·cal·ly** *adv.*

**no·men·cla·ture** (nmn-klchr, n-mnkl-) *n.* **1.** A system of names used in an art or science. **2.** The procedure of assigning names to organisms listed in a taxonomic classification. [Latin *nomencltra* <



*nmencltor*, nomenclator; see **nomenclator**.]

**non·sec·tar·i·an** (nnsk-târ-n) *adj.* Not limited to or associated with a particular religious denomination.  
—**nonsec·tari·an·ism** *n.*

**no·ta·rize** (nt-rz) *tr.v.* **-rized, -riz·ing, -riz·es** To certify or attest to (the validity of a signature on a document, for example) as a notary public. —**nota·ri·zation** (-r-zshn) *n.*

**ob·se·qui·ous** (b-skw-s, b-) *adj.* Full of or exhibiting servile compliance; fawning. [Middle English < Latin *obsequius* < *obsequium*, compliance < *obsequ*, to comply : *ob-*, to; see **ob-** + *sequ*, to follow; see *sekw-* 1 in App.] —**ob·sequi·ous·ly** *adv.* —**ob·sequi·ous·ness** *n.*

**ol·i·gar·chy** (l-gärk, l-) *n., pl. -chies* **1a.** Government by a few, esp. by a small faction of persons or families. **b.** Those making up such a government. **2.** A state governed by an oligarchy. —**ol·i·garchic, oli·garchi·cal** *adj.*

**om·nip·o·tent** (m-np-tnt) *adj.* Having unlimited or universal power, authority, or force. See Usage Note at **infinite**.§ *n.* **1.** One who is omnipotent. **2. Omnipotent** God. Used with *the*. [Middle English < Old French < Latin *omnipotns, omnipotent-* : *omni-*, omni- + *potns*, present participle of *posse*, to be able; see *poti-* in App.] —**om·nipo·tence, om·nipo·ten·cy** *n.* —**om·nipo·tent·ly** *adv.*

**or·thog·ra·phy** (ôr-thgr-f) *n., pl. -phies* **1.** The art or study of standard spelling. **2.** The aspect of language study concerned with letters and spelling. **3.** A method of representing a language or the sounds of language by written symbols; spelling. —**or·thogra·pher, or·thogra·phist** *n.*

**ox·i·dize** (ks-dz) *v.* **-dized, -diz·ing, -diz·es** — *tr.* **1.** To combine with oxygen; make into an oxide. **2.** To increase the positive charge or valence of (an element) by removing electrons. **3.** To coat with oxide. — *intr.* To become oxidized. —**oxi·diza·ble** *adj.* —**oxi·di·zation** (-d-zshn) *n.*

**pa·rab·o·la** (p-rb-l) *n.* A plane curve formed by the intersection of a right circular cone and a plane parallel to an element of the cone or by the locus of points equidistant from a fixed line and a fixed point not on the line. [New Latin < Greek *parabol*, comparison, application, parabola (< the relationship between the line joining the vertices of a conic and the line through its focus and parallel to its directrix) < *paraballein*, to compare; see **parable**.]

**par·a·digm** (pr-dm, -dm) *n.* **1.** One that serves as pattern or model. **2.** A set or list of all the inflectional forms of a word or of one of its grammatical categories. **3.** A set of assumptions, concepts, values, and practices that constitutes a way of viewing reality for the community that shares them, esp. in an intellectual discipline. [Middle English example < Late Latin *paradgma* < Greek *paradeigma* < *paradeiknunai*, to compare : *para-*, alongside; see **para-** 1 + *deiknunai*, to show; see *deik-* in App.]

**pa·ram·e·ter** (p-rm-tr) *n.* **1. Mathematics a.** A constant in an equation that varies in other equations of the same general form, esp. in the equation of a curve or surface that can be varied to represent a family of curves or surfaces. **b.** One of a set of independent variables that express the coordinates of a point. **2a.** One of a set of measurable factors, such as temperature, that define a system and determine its behavior and are varied in an experiment. **b.** A factor that restricts what is possible or what results. **c.** A factor that determines a range of variations; a boundary. **3. Statistics** A quantity, such as a mean, that is calculated from data and describes a population. **4.** A distinguishing characteristic or feature. [New Latin *parametrum*, a line through the focus and parallel to the directrix of a conic : Greek *para-*, beside; see **para-** 1 + Greek *metron*, measure; see **-meter**.] —**para·metric** (pr-mtrk), **para·metri·cal** *adj.* —**para·metri·cal·ly** *adv.*

**pe·cu·ni·ar·y** (p-kyn-r) *adj.* **1.** Of or relating to money. **2.** Requiring payment of money. [Latin *pecnirius* < *pecnia*, wealth; see *peku-* in App.]

**pho·to·syn·the·sis** (ft-snth-ss) *n.* The process by which green plants and certain other organisms

synthesize carbohydrates from carbon dioxide and water using light as an energy source and usu. releasing oxygen as a byproduct. — **photo·synthe·size** (-sz) *v.* — **photo·syn·thetic** (-sn-thtk) *adj.* — **photo·syn·theti·cal·ly** *adv.*

**plag·ia·rize** (plj-rz) *v.* **-rized, -riz·ing, -riz·es** — *tr.* **1.** To use and pass off (the ideas or writings of another) as one's own. **2.** To appropriate for use as one's own passages or ideas from (another). — *intr.* To plagiarize the ideas or words of another. — **plagia·rizer** *n.*

**plas·ma** (plzm) also **plasm** (plzm) *n.* **1a.** The clear yellowish fluid portion of blood, lymph, or intramuscular fluid in which cells are suspended. **b.** Blood plasma. **2.** *Medicine* Cell-free sterilized blood plasma, used in transfusions. **3.** Protoplasm or cytoplasm. **4.** The fluid portion of milk from which the curd is separated by coagulation; whey. **5.** *Physics* A highly ionized gas containing nearly equal numbers of positive ions and electrons. [New Latin < Late Latin image, figure < Greek < *plassein*, to mold; see *pel-* **2** in App.] — **plas·matic** (plz-mtk), **plasmic** (-mk) *adj.*

**pol·y·mer** (pl-mr) *n.* Any of numerous natural or synthetic compounds of usu. high molecular weight consisting of repeated linked units, each a relatively light and simple molecule. [Greek *polumers*, consisting of many parts : *polu-*, poly- + *meros*, part.]

**pre·cip·i·tous** (pr-sp-ts) *adj.* **1.** Resembling a precipice; extremely steep. See Syns at **steep 1**. **2.** Having several precipices: *a precipitous bluff*. **3.** *Usage Problem* Extremely rapid or abrupt; precipitate. See Usage Note at **precipitate**. [Probably < obsolete *precipitious* < Latin *praecipitium*, precipice; see **precipice**.] — **pre·cipi·tous·ly** *adv.* — **pre·cipi·tous·ness** *n.*

**qua·sar** (kwzär, -sär, -zr, -sr) *n.* An extremely distant celestial object whose power output is thousands of times that of our entire galaxy. [*quas(i-stellar)* + (st)ar.]

**quo·tid·i·an** (kw-td-n) *adj.* **1.** Everyday; commonplace. **2.** Recurring daily. Used esp. of attacks of malaria. [Middle English *cotidien* < Old French < Latin *quotidianus* < *quotidi*, each day : *quot*, how many, as many as; see *kwo-* in App. + *di*, ablative of *dis*, day; see *dyeu-* in App.]

**re·ca·pit·u·late** (rk-pch-lt) *v.* **-lat·ed, -lat·ing, -lates** — *tr.* **1.** To repeat in concise form. **2.** *Biology* To appear to repeat (the evolutionary stages of the species) during the embryonic development of the individual organism. — *intr.* To make a summary. [Latin *recapitulre, recapitult-* : *re-*, *re-* + *capitulum*, main point, heading diminutive of *caput, capit-*, head; see *kaput-* in App.] — **re·ca·pitu·lative, re·ca·pitu·la·tory** (-l-tôr, -tr) *adj.*

**re·cip·ro·cal** (r-spr-kl) *adj.* **1.** Concerning each of two or more persons or things. **2.** Interchanged, given, or owed to each other: *a reciprocal invitation*. **3.** Performed, experienced, or felt by both sides: *reciprocal respect*. **4.** Interchangeable; complementary: *reciprocal electric outlets*. **5.** *Grammar* Expressing mutual action or relationship. Used of some verbs and compound pronouns. **6.** *Mathematics* Of or relating to the reciprocal of a quantity. **7.** *Physiology* Of or relating to a neuromuscular phenomenon in which the inhibition of one group of muscles accompanies the excitation of another. **8.** *Genetics* Of or being a pair of crosses in which the male or female parent in one cross is of the same genotype or phenotype as the complementary female or male parent in the other cross. § *n.* **1.** Something that is reciprocal to something else. **2.** *Mathematics* A number related to another so that when multiplied together their product is 1. For example, the reciprocal of 7 is 1/7. [From Latin *reciprocus*, alternating; see *per 1* in App.] — **re·cipro·cali·ty** (-kl-t), **re·cipro·cal·ness** (-kl-ns) *n.* — **re·cipro·cal·ly** *adv.*

**rep·a·ra·tion** (rp-rshn) *n.* **1.** The act or process of repairing or the condition of being repaired. **2.** The act or process of making amends; expiation. **3.** Something done or paid to compensate or make amends. **4.** **reparations** Compensation or remuneration required from a defeated nation as indemnity for damage or injury during a war. [Middle English *reparacion* < Old French < Late Latin *repartii, repartin-*, restoration < Latin *repartus*, past participle of *reparre*, to repair; see **repair 1**.]

**res·pi·ra·tion** (rsp-rshn) *n.* **1a.** The act or process of inhaling and exhaling; breathing. **b.** The act or process by which an organism without lungs, such as a plant, exchanges gases with its environment. **2a.**

The oxidative process in living cells by which the chemical energy of organic molecules is released in metabolic steps involving the consumption of oxygen and the liberation of carbon dioxide and water. **b.** Any of various analogous metabolic processes by which certain organisms, such as fungi, obtain energy from organic molecules. —**respi·ration·al** *adj.*

**san·guine** (snggwɪn) *adj.* **1a.** Of the color of blood; red. **b.** Of a healthy reddish color; ruddy: *a sanguine complexion*. **2.** *Archaic* **a.** In medieval physiology, having blood as the dominant humor. **b.** Having the temperament and ruddy complexion once thought to be characteristic of this humor; passionate. **3.** Cheerfully confident; optimistic. [Middle English < Old French *sanguin* < Latin *sanguineus* < *sanguis*, *sanguin*-, blood.] —**sanguine·ly** *adv.* —**sanguine·ness**, **san·guini·ty** *n.*

**so·lil·o·quy** (s-ll-kw) *n., pl. -quies* **1a.** A dramatic or literary form of discourse in which a character reveals his or her thoughts when alone or unaware of the presence of other characters. **b.** A specific speech or piece of writing in this form of discourse. **2.** The act of speaking to oneself. [Late Latin *sililoquium* : Latin *slus*, alone; see s(w)e- in App. + Latin *loqu*, to speak.] —**so·lilo·quist** (-kwst), **so·lilo·quizer** (-kwzr) *n.* —**so·lilo·quize** (-kwz) *v.*

**sub·ju·gate** (sbj-gt) *tr.v. -gat·ed, -gat·ing, -gates* **1.** To bring under control; conquer. See Syns at **defeat**. **2.** To make subservient; enslave. [Middle English *subjugaten* < Latin *subiugre*, *subiugt*- : *sub*-, *sub*- + *iugum*, yoke; see yeug- in App.] —**subju·gation** *n.* —**subju·gator** *n.*

**suf·fra·gist** (sfr-jst) *n.* An advocate of the extension of political voting rights, esp. to women. —**suffra·gism** *n.*

**su·per·cil·i·ous** (spr-sl-s) *adj.* Feeling or showing haughty disdain. See Syns at **proud**. [Latin *superciliosus* < *supercilium*, eyebrow, pride : *super*-, *super*- + *cilium*, lower eyelid; see kel- in App.] —**super·cili·ous·ly** *adv.* —**super·cili·ous·ness** *n.*

**tau·tol·o·gy** (tô-tl-j) *n., pl. -gies* **1a.** Needless repetition of the same sense in different words; redundancy. **b.** An instance of such repetition. **2.** *Logic* An empty statement composed of simpler statements in a fashion that makes it logically true whether the simpler statements are factually true or false; for example, *Either we'll go or we'll stay*. [Late Latin *tautologia* < Greek *tautologi* < *tautologos*, redundant : *tauto*-, *tauto*- + *logos*, saying; see **-logy**.] —**tauto·logi·cal** (tôtl-j-kl), **tauto·logic** (-k) *adj.* —**tauto·logi·cal·ly** *adv.*

**tax·on·o·my** (tk-sn-m) *n., pl. -mies* **1.** The classification of organisms in an ordered system that indicates natural relationships. **2.** The science, laws, or principles of classification; systematics. **3.** Division into ordered groups or categories. [French *taxonomie* : Greek *taxis*, arrangement; see **taxis** + *-nomie*, method (< Greek *-nomi*, ; see **-nomy**).] —**tax·ono·mist** *n.*

**tec·ton·ic** (tk-tnk) *adj.* **1.** *Geology* Relating to, causing, or resulting from structural deformation of the earth's crust. **2a.** Relating to construction or building. **b.** Architectural. [Late Latin *tectonicus* < Greek *tektonikos* < *tektōn*, builder.] —**tec·toni·cal·ly** *adv.*

**tem·pes·tu·ous** (tm-psch-s) *adj.* **1.** Of, relating to, or resembling a tempest. **2.** Tumultuous; stormy: *a tempestuous relationship*. [Middle English < Late Latin *tempestuosus* < *tempestus*, tempest variant of *tempests*, ; see **tempest**.] —**tem·pestu·ous·ly** *adv.*

**ther·mo·dy·nam·ics** (thûrm-d-nmks) *n.* **1.** (*used with a sing. verb*) The branch of physics that deals with the relationships and conversions between heat and other forms of energy. **2.** (*used with a pl. verb*) Thermodynamic phenomena and processes.

**to·tal·i·tari·an** (t-tl-târ-n) *adj.* Of, being, or imposing a form of government in which the political authority exercises absolute and centralized control over all aspects of life. **n.** A practitioner or supporter of such a government. [total + (author)itarian.] —**to·tali·tari·an·ism** *n.*

**unc·tu·ous** (ngkch-s) *adj.* **1.** Characterized by affected, exaggerated, or insincere earnestness. **2.** Having the quality or characteristics of oil or ointment; slippery. **3.** Containing or composed of oil or fat. **4.** Abundant in organic materials; soft and rich: *unctuous soil*. [Middle English < Old French *unctueus* < Medieval Latin *nctusus* < Latin *nctum*, ointment < neuter past participle of *unguere*, to anoint.] — **unctu·ous·ly** *adv.* — **unctu·ous·ness**, **unctu·osi·ty** (-s-t) *n.*

**u·surp** (y-sûrp, -zûrp) *v.* **-surped, -surp·ing, -surps** — *tr.* **1.** To seize and hold (the power or rights of another, for example) by force and without legal authority. **2.** To take over or occupy without right: *usurp land*. — *intr.* To seize another's place, authority, or possession wrongfully. [Middle English *usurpen* < Old French *usurper* < Latin *srpre*, to take into use, usurp; see reup- in App.] — **u·surper** *n.* — **u·surp·ing·ly** *adv.*

**vac·u·ous** (vky-s) *adj.* **1.** Devoid of matter; empty. **2a.** Lacking intelligence; stupid. **b.** Devoid of substance or meaning; inane: *a vacuous comment*. **c.** Devoid of expression; vacant. **3.** Lacking serious purpose or occupation; idle. [From Latin *vacuus*, empty; see **vacuum**.] — **vacu·ous·ly** *adv.* — **vacu·ous·ness** *n.*

**ve·he·ment** (v-mnt) *adj.* **1.** Forceful or intense in expression, emotion, or conviction; fervid. **2.** Vigorous or energetic; strong: *a vehement storm*. [Middle English < Old French < Latin *vehemens*, *vehement-*, perh. < *vehere*, to carry; see wegh- in App.] — **vehe·mence**, **vehe·men·cy** *n.* — **vehe·ment·ly** *adv.*

**vor·tex** (vôrtk) *n., pl. -tex·es or -ti·ces* (-t-sz) **1.** A spiral motion of fluid within a limited area, esp. a whirling mass of water or air that sucks everything near it toward its center. **2.** A place or situation regarded as drawing into its center all that surrounds it. [Latin *vortex*, *vortic-* variant of *vertex* < *vertere*, to turn; see wer- **2** in App.]

**win·now** (wn) *v.* **-nowed, -now·ing, -nows** — *tr.* **1a.** To separate the chaff from (grain) by means of a current of air. **b.** To rid of undesirable parts. **2.** To blow (chaff) off or away. **3.** To blow away; scatter. **4.** To blow on; fan: *A breeze winnowed the grass*. **5.** To examine closely in order to separate the good from the bad; sift. **6a.** To separate or get rid of (an undesirable part); eliminate: *winnowing out errors*. **b.** To sort or select (a desirable part); extract. — *intr.* **1.** To separate grain from chaff. **2.** To separate the good from the bad. § *n.* **1.** A device for winnowing grain. **2.** An act of winnowing. [Middle English *winnewen*, alteration of *windwen* < Old English *windwian* < *wind*, wind; see **wind** **1**.] — **winnow·er** *n.*

**wrought** (rôt) *v.* A past tense and a past participle of **work**. § *adj.* **1.** Put together; created: *a carefully wrought plan*. **2.** Shaped by hammering with tools. Used chiefly of metals or metalwork. **3.** Made delicately or elaborately. [Middle English *wrought* < Old English *geworht*, past participle of *wyrcan*, to work; see werg- in App.]

**xen·o·phobe** (zn-fb, zn-) *n.* A person unduly fearful or contemptuous of that which is foreign, esp. of strangers or foreign peoples. — **xen·o·phobi·a** *n.* — **xen·o·phobic** *adj.*

**yeo·man** (ymn) *n.* **1a.** An attendant, servant, or lesser official in a royal or noble household. **b.** A yeoman of the guard. **2.** A petty officer performing chiefly clerical duties in the US Navy. **3.** An assistant or other subordinate, as of a sheriff. **4.** A diligent, dependable worker. **5.** A farmer who cultivates his own land, esp. a member of a former class of small freeholders in England. [Middle English *yoman*, perh. < Old English \**gaman* < Old Frisian *gman*, villager : *g*, region, district *man*, man; see man- **1** in App.]

**zig·gu·rat** (zg-rt) *n.* A temple tower of the ancient Assyrians and Babylonians, having the form of a terraced pyramid of successively receding stories. [Akkadian *ziqurratu*, temple tower < *zaqru*, to build high.]

## Government Notes: A Course Overview

American Government 101

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### Introduction

The study of Govt. and Politics involves the examination of non-market mechanisms – institutions, procedures, and behaviors – connected with allocating scarce resources.

Historically and currently there are a great many different arrangements – institutions and procedures – for making these allocations.

1. Government by the one – Autocracy
2. Govt. by the few – Oligarchy
3. Govt. by the many – Democracy
4. The Institutions and Processes of governance are important because they determine who gets what, when, and how.

However, the behavior of people even channeled through the institutions and procedures, is widespread and constant. Why? The nature of human beings is a constant. They seek the same kinds of resources, they engage in permitted and impermissible behavior to attain their goals. What is the nature of human beings?

1. Acquisitive
2. Self-Aggrandizing

### The Functions of Govt.

1. Allocate scarce resources authoritatively
2. Provide public goods and services
3. Defend the country from invasion
4. Maintain order – social, economic, and political order

Politics and governance can be viewed as conflictual and competitive. In this context, all participants do not have equal resources

- a. Money
- b. Influence
- c. Knowledge
- d. Vision of objective
- e. Energy or stamina, i.e., commitment

All participants do not have same experience or expertise about how the system "works." All actors do not have the same skills.

Some face structural disadvantages:

- a. right to vote
- b. closed or private process of choice

3. All actors do not have the same arguments or contentions. Thus, some positions are advantaged by the merits. For example, the status quo position has advantages in any political or policy debate. It requires no change, or it requires doing nothing.

You should understand the politics of American government through concepts and theories employed in normative analysis

The study of American govt. involves the systematic study of politics. This is aided by the use of empirical theories for explanation.

1. Empirical theory is used to describe and predict political behavior. These theories make factual generalizations that are testable by observation.
2. Normative theory is used to analyze basic governmental values. These involve evaluation or prescription. They assert some value or norm that cannot be tested by empirical research. They deal with what "should be" rather than what "is."

You should consider your own normative framework in approaching the study of American govt.

1. What should govt. do?
2. How should govt. accomplish these things?

The Political Process involves the processes by which government makes the allocations. The process is:

- A. On-going or iterative. It involves continual decisions, all of them INTERIM or temporary.
- B. Issues or concerns can be traced through governmental institutions to note how each govt. decision evolves or changes over time and in different contexts.

### Democracy

Democracy means rule by the people.

- 1. Based on self-government by the many.
- 2. This presumes people have the capacity to govern.
- 3. The purpose of govt. is to serve everyone, not just the few but the whole.

Representative Democracy, v. Direct Democracy

- 1. Representative Govt. is a system in which people select others or "representatives" to act or decide for them.
- 2. This is indirect democracy.
- 3. What is a direct democracy? People decide questions of governance for themselves.

There are fundamental principles of democratic government.

A. Popular sovereignty

- 1. Policies reflect peoples' desires.
- 2. People participate in the political process by which decisions/policies are reached.
- 3. People can gain information and debate issues before policies are made.
- 4. Majority Rules the decision making process.

B. Political Equality: Each person carries equal weight in the policy making process. That means each vote counts the same.

C. Political Liberty – Self-government requires LIBERTY

- 1. to act (vote)
- 2. to speak (persuade)

There are various objections to the Majoritarian Representative Democratic MODEL.

- A. The Majority does not rule. The decisions are made by Minorities.
- B. People are Irrational and Incompetent.
- C. Democracy leads to "bad" decisions.
- D. "Majority Tyranny" Threatens Liberty.
- E. Majoritarian Democracy Threatens Minorities.

How Democratic are we? How do evaluate our govt?

- A. The "Ideal of Democracy" can be used as a yardstick.
- B. This Democratic ideal is not the only measure that might be used.

1. Popular Sovereignty?

- a. Does Govt. do what people want?
- b. Do people participate in politics?
- c. Can citizens be involved when they want to be involved in politics?
- d. Are peoples' preferences accurately and quickly communicated or linked to political leaders and policy making institutions?

2. Political Equality?

3. Political Liberty?

### HOW AMERICAN POLITICS WORKS

A. The Main Factors of Political Life are Interconnected.

- 1. Looking at one piece of the govt./politics puzzle will NOT provide a complete picture or explanation for what happens.

2. We must look beyond govt. officials, govt. procedures, or political conflicts to find explanations.

B. The Main Factors of Political Life can be categorized.

1. Institutions

- a. access points
- b. structure of process
- c. policy making authority

2. Actors (both individual and collective actors)

- a. These actors have interests
- b. They have knowledge or experience
- c. They have resources

3. Institutional procedures are central, very important.

C. Structural Factors are very important.

1. The demands and interests of people (individuals or groups) depends on access to institutions.
2. It depends on institutional responsiveness.
3. Success depends on peoples' use of institutions and power to achieve their goals.

D. Looking at American Politics requires taking an overview as well as detailed specifics.

1. American Politics is an ordered whole.
2. The individual pieces do fit together.
3. Students of American politics should make connections among the various pieces, actors, processes, and institutions.

## Lecture #2 Constitution

I. The Framing of the Constitution

A. What are the functions of a Constitution? What does a Constitution "do?"

1. Creates the organs or INSTITUTIONS of Govt.
2. Specifies the POWERS and duties (the authority) of the institutions of govt.
3. Outlines the PROCESSES of governing; the processes for exercising the powers are spelled out.
4. Institutional limitations may be specified.
5. Specifies WHO occupies the institutions.
6. Specifies how those incumbents (occupants) are SELECTED and for what terms.
7. Specifies the relationship between citizens and the state. That spells out liberties, rights, duties, and obligations of citizens and the govt.

B. Note that all Constitutions may not perform all these functions.

C. Note that the specificity of the institutions, the processes, the rights and liberties, and the officers may vary a good deal.

For example, we know that the House is to vote Articles of Impeachment, and the Senate is to try the Articles, but the actual processes used for these functions are completely unspecified in the Constitution.

D. Any Constitution will be designed to achieve certain objectives or ends or perform some of these functions.

1. The Framers' goals and objectives are most likely to be encased in the document, even if those were not clear or explicit.

2. What were the objectives of the Framers? This is a mixed picture.

- a. Protect Private Property.
- b. Establish and maintain order.
- c. Provide a stronger central govt. than under the Articles of Confederation.
- d. Provide for a central, national executive, and a national judiciary.
- e. Reduce (eliminate?) the sovereign power of the states.
- f. Eliminate or solve the problems contained in the Articles. The Articles of Confederation had a variety of unique characteristics and limitations. What were those problems?

E. The Constitutional Convention can be viewed as a “revolutionary” act. Why or how can this view be taken of the convention?

II. What did the Constitutional Convention accomplish?

A. They drafted the Constitution after much debate and weighing AND disagreement among the delegates.

B. What were the primary features of the Convention?

1. The Framers agreed about some aspects of the Constitution.

- a. The Articles of Confederation had to be scrapped
- b. Agreed on the need to strengthen the national or central government.
- c. Believed that a strong central govt. was potentially very dangerous or potentially tyrannical.
- d. Agreed on the need for a republican form of Govt.
- e. Accepted the need for compromise among them.

2. The Framers disagreed about other issues.

- a. Disagreed over the forms of representation.
- b. Disagreed over methods for selection or basis of representation.
- c. Disagreed over the specific forms of the central the govt. AND how much power they should have.
- d. Disagreed about the need for specific Rights and Liberties provisions in the Constitution.
- e. Disagreed over Slavery.
- f. Disagreed over the nature of the union and over State Sovereignty.

C. Solutions to these Problems or disagreements

1. The Great (Connecticut) Compromise over forms of legislative Representation.

- a. Bicameral legislature based on different forms of Representation.
- b. Senate equal representation for each state.
- c. Representation in the House was based on population.
- d. The President was elected by the Electoral College
- e. Only the House of Representatives was directly elected by voters. The other institutions (including the Federal Courts) would be insulated from popular voting.
- f. This is a classic example of a Republican Form of Govt.

2. National Govt. Power was divided:

a. The Separation of Powers divided national power among three branches (institutions) of govt.

- 1) No branch of Govt. had complete power, although each had primary functions, such as legislating, executing, and judging.
- 2) The Powers that were given to each branch of govt. were specified and limited.

b. The powers of an institution were checked by some powers that were exercised by one of the other branches. This is the Checks and Balances idea.

- 1) Legislative/Executive
- 2) Executive/Judicial
- 3) Legislative/Judicial

3. There were few Civil Rights and Liberties protections explicitly outlined in the original Constitution.

- a. The Bill of Rights were added, as the first ten Amendments to the Constitution, by the First Congress. Note the ratification of these Amendments.
- b. There were a political compromise arrived at in the course of getting the Constitution Ratified.
- c. These Rights and Liberties were applicable to the Federal Government and thus defined the relationship between that govt. and the people.
- d. Eventually, the U.S. Supreme Court incrementally incorporated most of the Bill of Rights and applied these to control the actions of state governments as well.

1) These very same liberties and rights became limitations on State Governments.



2) This was accomplished by interpreting the Due Process Clause of the 14th Amendment as “incorporating” various Bill of Rights provisions and applying them to the states.

4. Slavery was “finessed” by the Framers.

- a. The Three/Fifths Rule for counting population.
- b. The ban on federal govt. Regulation of Migration and Importation until 1808.
- c. Many of the Framers were slave-holders.

5. The Nature of the Union was left vague.

- a. This is the sense of Federalism or a federal form of government.
- b. The Supremacy Clause was about the only explicit mention of federal issues. Art I, Section 6, Paragraph 2

6. These last two issues – Slavery and the Nature of the Union – were settled eventually, by the Civil War because they kept arising and the level of disagreement was so great among the population.

D. The general principles contained in the Constitution are important to consider.

1. Popular Sovereignty resides with the people.
2. A Limited Government was created.
3. Majority Rule was checked or restrained, so that Minority Rights were protected, to some degree.
4. A representative democracy or a republican form of government was the fundamental feature of the new constitution.
5. Changing the Constitution was made easier than under the Articles of Confederation. It was at least possible to amend the Constitution.

III. Changing the Constitution.

A. The Constitution provided for a slightly easier method of amendment than the Articles of Confederation provided.

B. How is the Constitution formally amended?

1. Where do Amendments come from?” Who can generate amendments?
2. What happens to Amendments in the Congress?
3. In the states, what are the processes of ratification?
4. What is a Constitutional Convention? Could we have one?

C. How else can the Constitution be changed, than be formal amendment?

1. Practice and usage is a very important method of constitutional change and development.

- a. The Advice and Consent of 2/3rds of the Senate to make treaties.
- b. President has become a major player in the legislative process. Perhaps the President is the Chief Legislator.

2. Supreme Court Interpretation of provisions of the Constitution and the meaning of the words used in the Constitution lead to evolutionary change in the Constitution.

- a. The Incorporation of the Bill of Rights through the 14th Amendment and their application to the states.
- b. The meaning of the Interstate Commerce Clause in Art. I, Section 8, has been expanded to allow Congress to make auto theft, kidnapping, or racial discrimination in places of public accommodations illegal.

IV. The Constitution is a remarkable document.

- A. It does NOT solve all our process or authority questions.
- B. The Constitution will continue to be used by people seeking to gain political advantage.
- C. The Constitution will continue to change and evolve through time.
- D. The success or survival of the Constitution will continue to be in doubt, even if the country is not in danger of disintegrating.

Lecture #3 **Federalism**

I. Introduction: The US is one nation with many governments (over 83,000 units).

- Municipal - County - Regional - School District - Special-purpose district - States

A. The Framers believed that "divided" power protected liberty.

1. Division can delay reforms or prevent the achievement of social objectives ? child labor, civil rights
2. The federal idea derived from the prior existence of the states, and their power at the time the Constitution was framed
3. The federal arrangement can also be based on the idea that the people are sovereign and create different governments with different powers for different purposes.

B. In a federal system, governmental power is divided between national and constituent governments.

1. Distribution of power cannot be changed through ordinary laws.
2. The federal arrangement can also be based on the idea that the people are sovereign and create different governments with different powers for different purposes.
3. Both governmental levels operate directly on the constituents.
4. Federalism distributes power among ethnically or regionally diverse population segments. Examples of these diversity features include:

- a. Canada and Quebec
- b. Yugoslavia
- c. The former Soviet Union

C. There are alternative structures of power to federal:

1. Unitary systems place all governmental power in the central govt.
  - a. Central govt. delegates authority to constituent units.
  - b. There usually are administrative units at lower geographic areas.
  - c. For Example, Britain, France.
2. Confederations allow the central govt. to make regulations for constituent governments.
  - a. However, the constituent governments, states, have the ultimate power.
  - b. For example of such confederations are, the Southern Confederacy, the Articles of Confederation.
  - c. What were the problems or difficulties with this particular structure?

D. There are several reasons for Federalism in this country.

1. Historically each state declared independence from Britain, effectively becoming independent countries in 1776.
2. Federal systems work best where populations are diverse in terms of religion, race, ethnicity, or language.
3. Federal systems also facilitate governing over large geographical areas.

E. Federalism today is still a KEY STRUCTURAL feature of American Government.

1. It deters the development of a completely unified political party system.
2. Federalism limits what Congress and the President can do in terms of public policy.
3. In the United States federalism may contribute to meeting a wide diversity of needs and conditions throughout the country.
4. Federalism does contribute to a closeness to the population because each states' government is closer to the population than is the federal (national) government.
5. Federalism does allow for state policy experimentation.
6. Federalism does allow more access points for minority office holders.

II. There has been a frequent, loud, even violent debate over the nature of our federal system and states rights.

A. The framers finessed this issue at the Convention, because they generally sought to limit state powers, but could not want to tell the states that.

1. There was a high level of uncertainty about the nature of the union in 1787.
2. There is still debate over the power of the states.

B. The nature of the union issue was "settled" by violence ? the Civil War.

1. Note the Doctrine of Interposition.
2. The union could not be dissolved by secession, because the states could not leave.
3. Yet, the nature of the union continues to evolve and change. So even with the Civil War's resolution of the nature of the union, the power of state and federal governments changes over time.

C. The fundamental theory that undergirds our federal system is that the people are politically sovereign.

1. All the powers of government, all governments, are delegated from the people.
2. Any power not delegated is retained by the PEOPLE. That power can be given to other governments (state) or retained and not given to any government.

D. Alternative explanations for the federal system have been in vogue at times in our history:

1. STATE SOVEREIGNTY was strongly articulated during the early years of the union ? before the Civil War.
  - a. This was the position of the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions.
  - b. This was clearly outlined by John Calhoun's Doctrine of Interposition and adopted by the Confederacy.
2. DUAL FEDERALISM implies distinct layers (layer cake metaphor) of govt. that do not mix or share power in their own spheres.
  - a. The Constitution is a compact between sovereign states.
  - b. States are viewed as powerful, essential components of the federal system, equal in some respects with the national govt.
3. COOPERATIVE FEDERALISM emphasizes an intermingling (marble-cake metaphor) of govt. activities at different levels and in various spheres.
  - a. The people are viewed as citizens of both state and nation.
  - b. This view stresses the role of the national govt.
  - c. This is the view that prevails or operates.

E. The relationship between national and state governments has evolved over time. WHY?

1. Constitutional theory does not account for such shifts.
2. Historical circumstances have influenced this relationship. For example, the attempted secession from the Union, by the southern states.
3. Specific constitutional changes account for some shifts in the federal balance of power.
  - a. Due Process and Equal Protection requirements of the 14th Amendment restrict state power by vesting supervision of these requirements in the national govt.
  - b. Another example is the 16th amendment which established a national income tax.
4. Fiscal or financial considerations also have accounted for much shifting of the balance of power between state and federal governments.
  - a. What do we mean by Fiscal Federalism? The sources of revenue ? taxes ? have made substantial differences in national, state, and local power, by changing the distribution of monetary resources.
    - 1) Income tax
    - 2) Sales tax
    - 3) Property tax
  - b. The different sources of govt. revenue are VERY significant in accounting for the difference in the AMOUNTS of money govt. have to spend.

III. Note that the powers involved in our system of government are mixed and blended between the state and the federal government.

A. Concurrent powers are shared powers or powers both governments can exercise.

1. Powers granted to each level of government.
2. For example the power to tax or raise revenue can be exercised by state and federal governments.

B. Exclusive powers are granted exclusively to one or the other government.

1. The power granted to one government is explicitly denied to the other government.
2. The power to make treaties with foreign governments or the power to coin money is exclusively with the federal government.
3. Powers granted solely to the states is NOT articulated in the Constitution. Those would be powers explicitly denied to the central government and which the state governments exercise.

C. Prohibited or Retained powers are not given to any level of Government.

1. Note the statement in the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution.
2. There are prohibitions in connection with the federal government – the Bill of Rights.

3. There are prohibitions in Art. I, section 10 that pertain to the states, as do the Civil War Amendments – 13th 14th and 15th.

D. Note the Supremacy Clause in Art VI. Paragraph 2 of the Constitution. This is an elementary point that is truly vital to the operation of this mixture of governments.

E. Note also the Full Faith and Credit provision of the Constitution – Art. IV, Section 2. This is an important feature of the federal system.

IV. The National government uses "sticks" and "carrots" that account for the greatest shifts in the relationship between nation and states.

A. The national govt. uses STICKS in the form of legislation and judicial interpretation and CARROTS in the form of grants and revenue sharing \$.

1. Note the forms of taxation outlined above and what they “do” for Governmental power.

2. The CARROTS of national government power involve money. Examples include:

a. Grants-in-Aid: money paid by one level of govt. to another level, to be spent for a specific purpose. They are often awarded on a matching basis. Grants take two general forms:

1) CATEGORICAL GRANTS are targeted for specific purposes. Restrictions on their use leave little discretion to the govt. receiving the grant (e.g., disaster assistance). These grants may be further divided into two groups.

a) FORMULA GRANTS are distributed according to a given formula, specifying who is eligible and how much each recipient will receive.

b) PROJECT GRANTS are awarded on the basis of competitive applications.

2) BLOCK GRANTS are the second type of grants-in-aid. These are awarded for more general purposes (e.g., Community Development).

3) Given the allocation formulae that Congress sets, funds are not necessarily targeted to areas with the greatest need.

b. General Revenue Sharing. This places fewer restrictions on recipients than any form of grant-in-aid. revenue sharing money is given to the states or local communities with no restrictions on the purposes for which it can be spent.

3. The STICKS that attach to these programs are the regulations and requirements that the federal government imposes on the recipient governments.

a. These may require matching funds from the recipient government. That means these programs dictate how states and localities will spend their money. The Interstate Highway System was a 90/10 federal/state match. Other matches are 50/50.

b. Other limitations require the recipient to follow certain other federal policies:

1) Minimum Wage and Hour requirements.

2) Prohibitions against discrimination.

3) There are various “silly” requirements as well.

B. This discussion involves what is known as FISCAL FEDERALISM. It is the real nature of the federal system in our country.

C. The budget and fiscal problems the federal government has confronted in the 1980s and 1990s has caused:

1. Increased state responsibilities.

2. Retrenchment of the federal system.

3. Increased fiscal stress at the state and local levels.

4. Policy innovation and activism at the state level because of the lack of funds for new federal programs.

5. Unfunded Mandates.

6. Mandates require the states to carry out certain policies, with or often without federal funds.

7. Most federal money has substantial conditions attached to its receipt.

V. The Politics of Federalism

A. Problems of National Growth

1. Problems and their impact have spread, are more extensive, and solutions cost more to deal with than most states or localities can handle.

2. National economic, transportation, communication systems have prompted growth of problems.

3. The Depression, WW II, Johnson's Great Society contributed to the development of problems and policy development.

4. Federal programs have the support of various interest groups, and they want those continued and expanded.

## B. The Future of FEDERALISM

1. The states are stronger financially than we might expect in a variety of ways.
2. States have improved their political structures and processes. This has:
  - a. made them more responsive to the needs and desires of people.
  - b. made states more effective in implementing and innovating policies.
3. State still do established and pursue different policies in a variety of topics.
4. States have a great many more women and minorities in elected governmental offices than does the Federal Government.
5. And the number of state, and particularly local government employees who are women and minorities is also much larger than at the federal government level.

## Lecture #4 Civil Rights and Liberties

I. The Framers drafted a Constitution without any clear indication of these rights or liberties in it.

- A. They did not believe it was essential to list those rights and liberties.
- B. The Framers were also much more concerned about the structure and authority of the central government than about protecting people from that power.
- C. Despite the Bill of Rights, and the Reconstruction Amendments (13th, 14th and 15th) the rights and liberties we enjoy are NOT fixed or settled. They continue to change and evolve over time.
- D. As a result, these components of American Government and Politics is a source of conflict and disagreement as well as a source of liberty and freedom for all people.

II. The Original Constitution contains about six (6) liberties. Those are not viewed as crucial by most observers today.

- A. Art. I, § 9 (2) Writ of Habeas Corpus; Bills of Attainder and Ex Post Facto Laws
- B. Art. I, § 10 (2) Bills of Attainder and Ex Post Facto Laws; Impairment of Contracts
- C. Art III, § 2 (1) Jury trials for national criminal trials
- D. Art III, § 3 (1) Conviction for Treason requires two witnesses or confession in open court
- E. Art IV, § 2 (1) Citizens of states are entitled to P & I of citizens.
- F. The Bill of Rights certainly and explicitly expanded the rights and liberties we enjoy.
- G. Most 19th century changes in Rights and Liberties dealt with the expansion and development of Property Rights.

III. The story of 20th century rights/liberties focuses largely on the development of personal and categorical human rights and liberties.

- A. The Nationalization of the Bill of Rights is a major element of this development.
- B. The process has not been TOTAL incorporation, but rather selective.

1. Issues arise about what criteria are to be used to determine which rights and liberties are applied to the states through the Due Process Clause of the 14th Amendment.
2. Those rights that are fundamental to the scheme of ordered liberty.
3. Those that are preferred freedoms

C. Note Table 4-1 in Sidlow and Henschen for a listing of the rights and the cases and dates when specific portions of the Bill of Rights were incorporated.

D. The discussion of specific Civil Liberties is important but it varies from right to right and over time. Students should be aware of what each of the components of the Bill of Rights has been interpreted by the Supreme Court to mean.

1. Free Speech and Press.
2. Free Exercise of Religion
3. Establishment of Religion
4. Freedom of Assembly
5. The Rights of the Accused

- a. Searches and Seizures
- b. Privilege Against Self Incrimination
- c. Right to Counsel
- d. Right to Speedy and Public Jury Trial
- e. Right to Confront Accusers
- f. Capital Punishment and Cruel and Unusual Punishment

## 6. The Right to Privacy

IV. There have also been the expansion of Civil Rights in the last half century. These focus on relationships among people, more than the relationship between the Govt. and People.

- A. These rights are usually concentrated around issues of equality.
- B. Most often these debates and controversies are related to the 14th Amendment's Equal Protection Clause.
- C. Govt. can and does classify people for various reasons and into various groups or categories.
- D. However, those classification schemes must have some rational justification, and in certain cases the burden of justifying the classification is very heavy.

- 1. Race is a suspect Classification so any categorization on the basis of race will require very strong justification in order to be valid.
- 2. Beyond race, there are no clearly suspect categories or classification. Although classification on the basis of illegitimacy (birth status) has been invalidated by the Supreme Court.
- 3. Most frequently gender has been proposed as a suspect classification, but the Supreme Court has never adopted that view.

- a. Equality for women is based partly on interpretation of the 14th Amendment.
- b. But also statutes have expanded equality for women, particularly parts of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.
- c. Title IX was added in 1972 to deny federal funding to public or private programs that discriminated against women. This has largely been connected to college and university funding of women's athletic programs.

4. Classification by Disability has been widely attacked in recent years, since the enactment of the American with Disabilities Act in 1990.

- a. Public access has clearly been expanded for people with disabilities.
- b. Hiring, advancement, pay and training must be equal for persons with disabilities.
- c. These are very complicated and technical protections that involve tremendous federal regulatory oversight.

V. Government Policies may push Rights and Liberties in additional directions.

A. These policies are statutorily based.

- 1. Congress can be statute afford protections more quickly and more easily than through constitutional amendments or developments.
- 2. Such statutory rights may change with politics and that makes them somewhat more tenuous or uncertain than having a basis in the Constitution.

B. Affirmative Action statutes focus on race.

- 1. The policy is designed to remedy past racial discriminatory practices.
- 2. The effect is unclear and disputed.
- 3. Currently, the Supreme Court has applied strict scrutiny to racial classifications. That does NOT place all affirmative action programs in jeopardy of being held unconstitutional.

C. Civil Rights for Women

- 1. Civil Rights for women have always involved tenuous coalitions of justices on the Court, rather than a recognized as fundamental.
- 2. Right to Choose abortion is tenuous and ever-changing, but has been present on the scene since the Supreme court's decision in Roe v. Wade in 1972.
- 3. Sexual Harassment is based largely on workplace statutory protections.

- a. This has been unclear and confusing when litigated, but these protections have been developing.
- b. Such protections against harassment have been applied outside the workplace, particularly in educational setting.

4. Affirmative Action statutes are present in some states and some national settings, but they are NOT as widespread as one might expect.

D. Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990.

E. The rights of the elderly are largely under-developed.

- 1. Is there a "Right to Die?"
- 2. The Supreme Court has recently decided such questions in two cases.
- 3. The current interpretation is that the state is under no constitutional obligation to provide for or allow Physician-Assisted Suicide.
- 4. But it is a matter of state choice and so a state could permit that.

F. The U.S. Congress currently is presented with proposals for a "medical patient bill of rights." What that might mean is not clear, but it

would afford patients some protections or legal claims for information and for decision making in their medical cases.  
G. There are advocates for Gay and Lesbian Protections or Rights.

1. These protections are more likely at local or state levels than at the national level.
2. Yet, such rights, in localities, can be significant for many.

VI. There is a constant evolution or development of civil rights and liberties.

A. Those changes do not ALWAYS expand such rights and liberties.  
B. The meaning and substance of these rights depends on a variety of considerations:

1. Congressional enactment of statutes that afford protections.
2. The status that society gives to such enactments.
3. Supreme Court interpretation of existing provisions of the Constitution.
4. Efforts by rights advocates to change policy OR amendment the Constitution.

Public Opinion and Participation

#### Lecture #5 **Public Opinion and Participation**

I. The Framers of the Constitution believed in giving people/the citizenry a role in decision making.

A. The Framers sought to accomplish that with an indirect democracy or a republican form of govt.  
B. This participation related largely to the right to choose decisionmakers, both directly and indirectly.  
C. Democracy, however, is connected with governing through public opinion. That means:

1. Policy makers are expected to be sensitive to the preference and opinions of the public as they consider problems and develop solutions (policies) to those.
2. Which “public” an official heeded is not always clear. This may vary with
  - a. The issue involved,
  - b. The term of the office, or
  - c. The feelings or beliefs of the policymaker.

3. How the public’s preferences are identified is also not clear or is uncertain or varies from one method to the next.

D. What information is important for the decision maker to know about the preferences of the public? This is a very crucial question, without a clear answer.  
E. What is public opinion?

Public Opinion is the expressed beliefs, attitudes, and preferences of ordinary citizens.

F. Why is public opinion important to governing in America?

If governance is to be democratic, then the preferences of the people are essential or vital to the operation of our government.

II. What do people know about politics and policy?

A. Asking people what they think can be casual and informal. However that has its limits.  
B. Formally asking people what they think or believe is called sampling.

1. Taking a sample of the “population.” About 1500 people will give an accurate sample of the population of American adults.
2. Each person has an equal probability of being included in the sample.
3. The responses to such a survey can be generalized to the population.
4. Much polling was developed by commercial organizations to assess consumer tastes and preferences for products.
5. There can be abuses in the surveying process, depending on the polling organization.

- a. Some pollsters are quite good: Roper, Gallup, or the NYT/CBS poll.
- b. Many other polling companies are not household words but are very successful at polling.
- c. Most errors in polling derive from sloppy practices or efforts at saving money.
- d. Good, accurate polling is very costly.

6. Many commercial pollsters turn out to be hired guns for one Political Party or the other.

C. Among the matters that we know about the public is there general lack of knowledge about many issues and facts that policy makers depend on or assume they know.

1. Few know the name of their Representative in Congress, more know the name of their Senator.
2. Most know the name of the President, but few know the name of the Chief Justice of the United States.

D. Much opinion – people’s beliefs and preferences – is based on ideology. That is a system of interrelated attitudes and beliefs. That is NOT necessarily factual or correct.

E. Public Opinion is remarkably stable about a number of issues. It changes quickly about some other issues. That depends on the issues.

### III. Beliefs among the public

A. People have varying beliefs about political efficacy.

B. People have a negative view of Congress, even though they “love their own Representative.”

C. Presidential Approval ratings vary over time and with different Presidents and events. Currently, Pres. Clinton’s approval rating is rather high, given the difficulties he is faces.

D. People have long standing loyalty toward political parties, although Party Identification is declining somewhat currently, and the proportion of Independents is increasing.

1. Proportion of Democrats is declining.

2. The proportion of Independents is increasing.

3. The Proportion of Republicans is NOT increasing much at all.

4. Note that voting decisions are different from Party Identification and Loyalty. Someone can be a Democrat or a Republican and vote for a candidate for the other party.

E. People have some basis values and Beliefs.

1. Freedom is a very important value that we all have.

2. Economic Liberty

3. Capitalism

4. Equality

5. Democracy

6. Social Liberals versus Social Conservatives

7. We may disagree about the meaning of any of these values, but we all are likely to hold these to be important.

### IV. Where do we get opinions – sources?

A. The acquisition of attitudes and opinions comes through Political Socialization.

B. Family is a primary socializing influence and as the family goes (declines?) so goes political socialization.

C. School also provides some political information, both from teaches and from classmates.

D. The Workplace may be a source of opinions and attitudes.

E. The Mass Media provide many of us with most of our information AND cues about what we should think about to public affairs.

F. Economic and Social Structure (or our culture) may give us all the same beliefs about some issues, such a Freedom or Capitalism. These derive from shared experiences and common history.

G. Specific Events may also contribute to our views or opinions. A war, an economic depression, or social upheaval may shape the views of an entire generation of people.

V. People certainly do NOT share the same views on everything.

A. These differences of opinion depend on various factors or variables.

B. Race and Ethnicity may affect one’s core beliefs and opinions.

C. Religion provides a belief system through which people screen and filter issues, candidates, problems, and opinions.

D. Region of the Country may shape opinions.

E. City (Urban) or Country (Rural) will affect public opinions and attitudes. Here is Suburban in this opinion mix?

F. Social Class makes a difference in the Public Opinions that people hold.

G. Educational

H. Gender and Age might clearly influence the opinions people hold on some issues.

I. These various factors do not provide for completely different opinions, but rather affect certain opinions that people may hold or respond to.

### VI. What is the linkage between Opinion and Policy?

A. That linkage is presumed, but it certainly varies a great deal among policies makers, and depending on the policy issue involved.

B. Note that Opinion can be manipulated or changed by statements and actions. We have all heard about “Spin Doctors.”



C. We may all agree about defending national interests against the threat of invasion, but we may greatly disagree the very next day about changes in the minimum wage, for example.

VII. Political Participation involves a wide variety of possibilities.

A. How can one participate in governing?

Types of Conventional Participation % Holding Public Office < 1 Running for Public Office 3 Contributing \$ to a Campaign 10 Working for a Candidate 13 Write a Letter to the Editor 29 Write a letter to Representative 48 Voting (Pres. Election) 55 Participate in Public Meetings 71 Sign a Petition 80

B. Some kinds of Participation are Conventional. These are the usual kinds of activity such as those listed above in the table.

C. Other political activity is Unconventional. These forms may be effective in getting attention to issues or getting responses (policies or policy changes) for the advocates. They of participation.

1. These may be used most often by insular minorities who lack the resources to participate in conventional ways.

2. These may also be used by people and interests that do not think conventional methods will be effective.

3. They may also be used by those that the system formally excludes from effective participation.

4. Examples of this kind of participation are:

a. Demonstrations.

b. Sit-ins or pickets.

c. Riots and Violent

5. Examples of successful participation of this sort include:

a. Civil Rights Movement

b. Woman's Suffrage and Rights

c. Vietnam War protests

D. The effectiveness of these various forms of participation will fluctuate a great deal.

E. There are many factors that influence the effectiveness of participation..

1. "The times"

2. The issue

3. The power structure

4. The "message" of the participation – support or opposition to the status quo or the ruling factions.

VII. Factors that influence choices of participation forms

A. These variables tend to be the same that we look at in terms of holding various opinions. For example the following all affect the decision to participate and the choice of forms of participation:

1. Age

2. Sex

3. Region

4. Education

5. Income

6. Race

B. How would each of these factors affect decisions to participate and what kinds of participation to engage in?

C. We will look closely at these when we reach the topic of Campaigns and Elections (#7). But think systematically about these factors and the general issues of participation.

## Lecture #6 The Mass Media and Politics

I. The Media, both electronic and print, play a variety of significant and important roles in American Politics.

A. The Media are essential communications links between Govt. and the People

1. This linkage is not exact or transparent. The media filter the information, not just transmit it.

2. This linkage is multiple, not singular. That means there is more than one channel or source of information.

3. The linkage is bi-directional, but the two directions are not equal

4. The media is Mass Media. That means that it is general rather than specific and tailored. That is changing with cable fractionation of audiences and internet particularization.

B. The media's role in politics continues to change, but is protected by the First Amendment provision regarding Free Press.

II. The news media have developed into "objective" journalism.

A. Originally, in much of the 19th century the Press was blatantly partisan.

1. This kind of press openly supported one political party or one partisan view of affairs.
2. The muckraking efforts of the late 19th and early 20th centuries contributed to changes in this orientation. Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* is a prime example of this kind of change.

B. The need for income and expanded readership (audiences) led to the development of an “objective” commercial press.

C. This change was also enhanced by technological developments.

1. The invention and development of the telegraph allowed for quicker and broader distribution of short pieces of information than could be done by the traditional, partisan Press.
2. High speed printing allowed for the development of mass audiences for the press.
3. This was often called yellow journalism.
  - a. This involved efforts to boost circulation and sales.
  - b. Simultaneously, there was not responsibility or professionalism involved.

D. Objective journalism developed as a way of conveying facts and information without any partisan interpretation.

1. Schools of Journalism appeared.
2. The founder of the NYT advocated this kind of reporting.

E. Much journalism now related to interpretative reporting. That means the reporter seeks to interpret the facts and information for the reader.

III. The electronic media was a profound influence on the “mass” in mass media.

- A. This effort at reaching larger and larger audience led to national audiences and certainly many regional audiences for broadcasters.
- B. Listeners and viewers became aware of events and issues that were well beyond the local arenas.

1. Regional matters were a point of interest and concern because people saw (or learned) those could affect their well-being.
2. National events also become points of interest for audiences.
3. Much of the history of the media in the 20th has involved the expansion of audiences and coverage.
4. The Print media faced audience/readership contraction and narrow information. However, now there are national newspapers through satellite distribution and printing AND internet communications. Check: [www.nytimes.com](http://www.nytimes.com)
5. Networks developed for radio and certainly for TV.
  - a. ABC, NBC, and CBS are the archetypes. These go well beyond news, to provide homogenized entertainment programming for viewers.
  - b. These efforts may well have reached their peak of importance and influence, replaced by specialized providers.
    - 1) CSPAN and CNN
    - 2) Multiple entertainment venues and providers
    - 3) The Internet.
6. The future, the 21st century may focus much more on personalized information and narrower and narrower views of events and their significance.

C. The electronic media face various forms of Govt. regulation.

1. Regulation focuses on the limitations of a scarce resource – the electromagnetic spectrum.
2. But modern technology (cable and satellite) may have reduced or eliminated that need.
3. Govt. regulation does NOT focus on the content of broadcasting. Although

- a. There have been and are some must-carry requirements for cable systems, and
- b. Media broadcasters used to be required to provide equal time and faced access requirements.

4. Note that the First Amendment has been applied to the electronic media much differently than the print media.

IV. The current state of the media and politics is a puzzle, perhaps difficult to understand or to simplify.

A. The freedom of the media has led to a variety of consequences and developments.

1. Pack journalism means that media run in packs, chasing the same stories and trying to “get ahead” of everyone else.
2. Libel laws protect the media, more than the injured parties, in many circumstances when the media explore and report on public figures and officials in ways that are controversial or scandalous.
3. This leads to homogenization of the news. Most lead stories are identical or very similar every night regarding the network. Check

the evening news.

4. "Sensationalism sells newspapers." That means that headlines that scream violence, controversy, scandal, "sex, murder and mayhem" are likely to yield sales.

a. This may lead to manufacturing news and stories, such as CNN's wrong story about U.S. Commandos use of sarin nerve gas in a raid into Laos during the Vietnam War.

b. It also leads to magnifying mistakes or minor points or problems.

c. It also leads to dragging out stories, far after their importance has really disappeared.

d. This effort also leads to serious and conscientious, as well as tenacious investigative Reporting. Woodward and Bernstein work investigating the Nixon cover-up.

e. It leads to trial balloons from "unidentified sources" to see what the press's reaction might be or what others might say about the trial balloon.

f. It leads to some very important and valuable information.

B. There is a remarkable homogenization of information and news in the media.

1. This is contrary to the "free market of ideas." That is one of the hallmarks of a free press. However, it disappears in the homogeneity.

2. There is little debate in the media. The exception to this is on the Op-Ed pages of newspapers. These, however, are NOT robust and widely read by the masses of people

3. The AP and the UPI certainly given the identical material to 1000s of newspapers, as do other new services.

4. The news coverage of the electronic media are also dominated by a few organizations – ABC, CBS, NBS, PBS, and CNN.

5. Daily journalism presses for quick and uniform treatment of developing news. There is an imperative NOT to be different.

V. The links the Media do and do NOT perform

A. The main task of the modern media is to report and analyze events.

1. There are exceptions to this mode, as with talk radio.

2. There are also specialized print publications, with fractionated audiences – The Progressive, The Nation.

B. The media play a role as SIGNALER. That is they alert the public to important developments ASAP.

1. This presumes the media can identify important events.

a. Spotting the important events and circumstances is not always easy.

b. This cannot always be done quickly, shooting from the hip.

2. It is sometimes delayed signaling, as the discovery of an event may be hidden.

3. Events that occur outside the beltway, beyond Washington D.C. are nearly invisible to most news reporters.

4. This function often is crucial to agenda setting.

This is the ability to influence or determine what is on people's minds.

a. There are different agendas –

1) the public agenda,

2) the systemic agenda,

3) an institutional agenda.

b. Getting an issue on the public agenda may mean little or nothing OR a great deal in terms of what policymakers deal with in Washington.

C. The COMMON CARRIER ROLE is also evident in what some of the media does.

1. News stories based on the words and actions of public officials can be viewed as a public service to the people. It is the way in which the people learn what their policymakers are doing.

2. How else are we citizens to determine if we approve and support or oppose the actions of public officials if we do not know what they are doing and saying?

3. Public Officials try to manipulate the media to get positive coverage by the news media. However, the press is not particularly deferential to officials.

4. There is a symbiotic relationship between the media and officials.

a. The press relies on officials, identified or not, for much of the news of the day.

b. Officials rely on the press for favorable communications with constituents and the public.

D. The media certainly may try to perform a WATCHDOG role.

1. This involves the press is protecting the public from deceitful, careless, incompetent, and corrupt officials.

2. Some of this disclosure is certainly warranted and the role of disclosure is valuable.
3. Other of this media work largely involves hound-dogging public officials and seeking sensationalism.
4. Over the last forty years, there has been an increasing proportion of the news coverage of presidential candidates that has been “bad” rather than “good” news. Now the difference is about 60% “bad” and 40% “good.”

E. The media can also be viewed as a REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PUBLIC.

1. Thus, if the press ask a question it is “on behalf of the public” or because the “people want to know.”
2. How must trust does the public have in the media? One poll indicates much of the public has little or no trust in the media.:

Amount of Trust % A Great Deal 10 A Fair Amount 43 Not Very Much 31 None 13

3. There are at least two reasons why the media are not as well suited to this role of public representative as are elected officials

- a. The media are NOT accountable to the public. Public institutions and officials are publicly accountable.
- b. Representation in politics really involves the mobilization of bias. The media claim to be objective, and do not represent a particular interest or value. So how can the media claim to “represent” the public?

VI. Whither the media and whither American Politics?

- A. These two elements are NOT interchangeable or so tightly intertwined that they are not separable.
- B. Yet, as more and more of us come to use the media and rely on it for information, analysis, and agenda setting, it becomes more central to politics.
- C. This makes the Media’s role problematic and changing.
- D. It also makes the role of the media important in a variety of situations and circumstances.

Lecture #7 **Campaigns and Elections**

I. The election of public officials is the hallmark of an Indirect Democracy or a Republican Form of Govt.

- A. Selection of office holders by election was expected by the Framers.
- B. However, the right to vote – the Franchise – was limited and controlled by the States.
- C. The only office that involved direct elections was the House of Rep.
- D. Elections are fundamental to democratic control of policy makers.
- E. The Responsible Party model presumes or is based on the expectation that the majority party will enact its program after the election.

1. The party will be held responsible for the consequences of the enacted policy, at the next election
2. There is sufficient party discipline to insure that the majority party’s program will be enacted and supported by all the members of the party.
3. This model does NOT operate in this country, although some advocate that it should.

F. There is the expectation in a democracy that all offices will be competed for. That is, there will be electoral competition. In fact, that is certainly NOT the case.

1. This electoral competition presumes that the parties are unified and take clear policy stands on issues.
2. Parties are often fragmented or “fuzzy” on issues so as not to alienate possible voters.
3. This model presumes that everyone votes, expressing their true preferences for candidates.
4. Obviously, with voter turnout as low as it is, everyone does not vote, and in some elections well below one half of the eligible voters actual cast ballots.

II. Voter Participation historically is related to two reciprocal trends.

A. The franchise has expanded to include more and more of the population.

1. Property and religious requirements had been dropped by late 1820s.
2. The 15th Amendment granted the right to vote to former slaves in 1870, but in practical terms black voters were not expanded until after the enactment of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.
3. The 19th Amendment granted the franchise to all women in 1920.
4. Residents of the District of Columbia got the right to vote for President in 1961.
5. In 1971, 18 to 20 year olds gained the franchise.
6. In addition, except for the Electoral College, the DIRECT election of officers has been expanded as well over time.

B. The proportion of eligible voters who vote has been declining.

1. Examine any diagram or chart of voter turnout OVER TIME.
2. This will illustrate the decline in voter turnout.
3. The decline is in part due to the increases in eligibility among marginal and inexperienced voters.
4. Reasons for lower voter turnout:

- a. There are institutional barriers to voting. These include:
  - 1) Registration requirements. (Note motor voter requirements have not increased voter turnout.)
  - 2) Residency requirements which are something like barriers.
  - 3) One day, non-holiday elections.
- b. Lack of attractive choices for many potential voters.
- c. Voter Alienation is also present – apathy about politics.
- d. Lack of voter mobilization by the parties.

#### C. Factors that influence voting:

1. Income and Education. More active people have higher incomes and higher educational levels.
2. Race and Ethnicity. Fewer blacks and other ethnic minorities participate
3. Age. The very young are least likely to participate.
4. Men used to participate more than women, but this difference has largely disappeared.

### III. Campaigning for office

#### A. Presidential and legislative office campaigns are different.

1. Differences in the size of the electorate.
2. Differences in the nature of the selection process – the Electoral College and Presidential primaries versus the state or sub-state primary elections.
3. Differences in costs (amounts of money and time)
4. There are differences in the organizational needs of the candidate

#### B. The Process for selecting Presidential candidates:

1. Everyone does not have an equal chance. Initial name recognition is important so Governors, Vice Presidents, and Senators have a decided advantage in making a credible run for the Presidency.
2. Organization begins at least two years in advance. Now (early in 1999) for the 2000 presidential election.
  - a. Testing the waters includes getting early financial support.
  - b. This requires early campaign organization.
  - c. There must be an early campaign “pitch” or theme. Not that these are often adjusted during the campaign because the first idea doesn’t attract much support.
  - d. Early Primaries and Caucuses.
    - 1) Know what a Presidential Primary is, and what it means.
    - 2) Know what a party caucus is.
    - 3) Note that these have largely replaced the Party Convention as the battleground for presidential candidate selection.
  - e. Note that momentum in the early primaries and caucuses (Iowa and New Hampshire) may be crucial to a candidacy.
  - f. The winning combination includes:
    - 1) The general attractiveness of the candidate must be good.
    - 2) Candidates must appear to be viable or likely to win.
    - 3) Organizational strength is very important.
    - 4) The candidate must have plenty of money. Running out of money causes one to disappear from the radar (TV and news media) screen.
  - g. Successful candidates have won primary after primary, so that going into the convention the nominee is known.
  - h. This process tends to generate presidential candidates with widely popular stands.
  - i. Republican and Democratic convention delegates tend to be party extremists, not moderates.
  - j. Incumbents have a much easier time of becoming candidates for re-election.

#### C. The general campaign for the presidency

1. The winning candidates for President are already known quantities before the campaign for the general election begins in late summer or the early Fall.
2. There is still an incumbent advantage in the Presidential election when an incumbent is running for re-election.

3. The general election requires a campaign organization in each state.

- a. This organization might rely on state party organization, but that party is often concerned about state-wide offices and local elections, rather than the presidential election.
- b. Most presidential candidates rely on their own organizations and people.

4. The Presidential campaign in the Fall is devoted to:

a. Informing the voters, particularly the marginal and undecided voters. This informing focuses on, and

- 1) Issues
- 2) Past Performance
- 3) Personal Characteristics

b. Mobilizing committed voters. That is getting out the already committed voters.

5. Money and Elections are certainly closely connected. The 1996 General election cost Clinton and Dole, along with their national committees over \$328 million.

6. The money comes from a variety of sources:

- a. Taxpayers and public money contribute part of these funds, since 1971. Much of this goes to primary candidates OR to general election candidates who agree to spending limits. This accounted for only about 20% of Clinton and Dole's expenditures in 1996.
- b. The rest of contributors are private.

- 1) Businesses
- 2) Labor Unions
- 3) Individuals
- 4) Special Interest Groups.
- 5) PACs or Political Action Committees.
- 6) Foreign donations are increasing, from foreign governments and private foreign actors.

c. There are some funding limits, but there is always soft-money which is unlimited. This is funding given to state and local political parties for "party-building" purposes.

d. There is also direct advertising or campaigning by contributors for specific and identified candidates.

e. Are campaign contributions "bribes?" They are not direct and illegal bribes. These contributions really insure "access" to decision makers after the election.

f. Contributors are NOT average citizens but have special interests they are trying to further. So campaign money does contribute to (or magnify) political inequality.

IV. Election Results or who gets elected and Why?

A. Voter decisions are influenced by a number of factors or variables.

1. Social characteristics of voters.

a. Socio-Economic Status

1) Income – More income = more Republican support 2) Education – More education = slightly more Republican 3) Occupation– Blue Collar = Democ; White Collar = Republic.

b. Religion

1) Catholic – More Democratic 2) Jew – More Democratic 3) Protestant – About Average 4) Fundamentalists – Heavily Republican

c. Ethnicity

1) White – the general pattern 2) Black – heavily Democrat 3) Hispanic – heavily Democrat 4) Asian-American – No difference

d. Age

1) 18-29 years –> Repub. 2) Other categories display little difference

2. Party Loyalties

a. Many voters are loyal and strong supporters of any candidate running as a Democ. or a Republic.

b. Party ID is declining among Democ, but not Republicans.

c. Independents are increasing somewhat.

d. This is still the most significant determinant of voter choice.

e. This is the basis for the normal vote.

1) Critical Elections

2) Deviating Election

### 3) Reinstating Election.

3. Candidates and Candidate image determine some people's votes.

- a. Reagan Democrats are an example of solid Democ who were attracted by Reagan to vote for him in 1980 and 1984. Many stayed with Bush in 1988, but went back to Clinton (the Democrat) in 1992.
- b. Eisenhower Democrats in 1952 and 1956 are a similar example of this influence.
- c. Johnson Republicans in 1964 is another example.
- d. These people often say that they "vote for the man." Or they vote for "the candidate."

4. Policy Issues do play a role in some voters' decisions, but this is based on knowing what the candidate stands for or what the party stands for on a bundle of issues or on a single issue.

- a. This is connected to the Responsible Party model of elections and governance, and this is questionable in our system
- b. It is hard to determine what the candidate stands for in an election.

1) The media may not convey this information.

2) The candidate may soft-pedal or not state her/his position on any single issue for fear of alienating or angering some voters.

c. This may be retrospective voting, based on what the incumbents position was on an issue that concerned the voter.

d. This can also be prospective voting, based on what the candidate says s/he will do on an issue.

B. Understand the Electoral College and the role it plays in Presidential campaigns AND elections.

1. It is possible for a popularly elected President to lose the Electoral College Vote. Note the Hayes-Tilden Election in 1876; and Harrison-Cleveland in 1888.

2. Generally, the popular vote is magnified in the Electoral College Vote.

3. This mechanism seriously discourages third parties and disadvantages their candidates.

V. Are Elections important? Do they matter?

A. The election may be a Critical or Realigning Election where a new policy making era is ushered in by the winners.

B. Elections are also the only real democratic control we have over public officials. Whether that control is effective, or adequate for this to be a democracy, is certainly unclear.

C. Elections obviously do NOT create a perfect democracy. Why?

1. The biased structure of participation in elections.

2. The crucial effects of money and activists on election outcomes.

### Lecture #8 **Parties and Interest Groups**

I. These are two major sets of intermediary institutions.

A. These are extra-constitutional

1. They are not created by the Constitution.

2. They are permitted or even protected by the Constitution.

3. They are far from identical in structure, function, success.

B. These institutions may be essential or vital to the functioning of the governmental system.

C. They may also be vital to "democracy" since they link individuals and groups of citizens to governmental institutions.

D. The functions of these kinds of institutions are that they articulate interests. They act (can act) as representatives for the interests of individuals.

E. They are NOT essential or vital as articulators, but they can enhance the messages and the volume of the preferences held by their members.

F. Parties and Interest Groups perform very different kinds of interest articulation for the political system.

II. Political Parties are organizations that seek to gain control of elected political offices by presenting candidates for voters to select and put into office.

A. Remember that parties in America are NOT responsible parties. They do not have strong party discipline and they cannot control their members to vote along strict party lines.

1. Parties are pragmatic organizations with diverse voter support and diverse membership.
2. There are different levels and layers of party membership.

1. Office holders 2. Candidates for office 3. Party officials 4. Party contributors (money and expertise) 5. Party members who work for parties in campaigns 6. Party members who vote for party candidates 7. Party members in the electorate

This order reflects increasing amounts of commitment and support for a political party. There may be other ways of presenting such layers of party membership, but keep these in mind.

3. Functions including keeping elected officials responsive to voter preferences
4. Encompassing broad ranges of groups and interests – aggregating demands into mass political parties. These depend on electoral majorities.

5. Parties stimulate political interest
6. Parties ensure some level of public accountability.
7. Parties are also essential to the organization and running of governmental institutions.

- a. Executive branch
- b. Legislative branch

B. Parties have evolved over time, from nascent or under developed sets of preferences for or against the Constitution.

C. Why do we have two parties rather than multiple parties?

1. The electoral system, winner-take-all, single member districts rather than proportional representation.
2. There are restrictions on the appearance or viability of minor parties.
3. People have popular attitudes toward fringe or splinter parties.
4. The absence of a strong, large, viable labor movement has reduced the likelihood of the development of certain kinds of political parties – socialists or labor parties.

D. Minor parties do play a role in American Politics, occasionally.

1. Raise one of more issues that the major parties are ignoring in order to get that issue on the political agenda.
2. Articulate new ideas that eventually are taken over by one of the major parties.

III. Party Organization is very important to understand.

- A. Basic model of organization is that parties are organized from the ground or bottom up. Why?
- B. Parties are organized at the levels to contest elections -- local, state, and national.
- C. They are organized at the grass-roots level in order to mobilize voters.

1. National Chairperson 2.. National Party Convention 3. State Party officials 4. State Party Convention 5. County Party Leaders 6. County Party Central Committee 7. Precinct Committee Members

D. Party organization is the result of state law, and so party organization varies from state to state.

E. Party “membership” is a very fluid matter, so we do not know who belongs or why.

1. Voter who declares membership – allegiance.
2. Any one who votes in fact for party candidates

F. Party central committees and conventions, at the state or national level, as well as the National Party Committee do provide some structure and some coordination.

G. There are questions about how ideological political parties are. In America parties have not been very ideological, why?

IV. Note that currently, and for most of the period since World War II, we have operated with Divided Government in Washington DC.

Year	Pres.	Senate	House	Div'd Govt
1945	D	D	D	No
1947	D	R	R	Yes
1949	D	D	D	No
1951	D	D	D	No
1953	R	R	R	No
1955	R	D	D	Yes
1957	R	D	D	Yes
1959	R	D	D	Yes
1961	D	D	D	No
1963	D	D	D	No
1965	D	D	D	No
1967	D	D	D	No
1969	R	D	D	Yes
1971	R	D	D	Yes
1973	R	D	D	Yes
1975	R	D	D	Yes
1977	D	D	D	No
1979	D	D	D	No
1981	R	R	D	Yes
1983	R	R	D	Yes
1985	R	R	D	Yes
1987	R	D	D	Yes
1989	R	D	D	Yes
1991	R	D	D	Yes
1993	D	D	D	No
1995	D	R	R	Yes
1997	D	R	R	Yes
1999	D	R	R	Yes

A. What is the general pattern displayed here?



1. Predominantly, the Republicans have controlled the Presidency.
2. The Democrats Controlling both houses of Congress.
3. Recently, since 1994, this pattern has been reversed.
4. This newer pattern may continue as the general orientation of voters may be toward fiscal, if not social, conservatism.
5. The House, particularly, can be reflective of those trends. The Senate is less likely to be so Republican, but that remains to be seen in future years.

B. What does Divided Government “Mean?”

- C. The factual difference involves both political parties controlling one or more of the three legislative and executive institutions of Govt.
- D. It reflects the mixture of preferences that people – voters – have for who governs.

1. Prior to WW. II, it was more likely that the party that controlled the White House also controlled both houses of Congress.
2. This suggests that people were more likely to select office holders along purely party lines, expecting either party to carry out their policy agenda.
3. Now people seem to segregate or divide their votes based less on party labels and more on

- a. candidate personalities,
- b. candidate images,
- c. specific policy preferences, including single issue voting.

E. This reflects the points made by Madison in Federalist Number 10.

1. Divided Govt. was clearly what he advocated in that tract in order to avoid domination by a single interest or “faction.”
2. Even though his “factions” were probably interests rather than parties, what we see in the post-War era is the kind of institutional checks and balances that he was writing about in 1787-88.
3. This does protect us from tyrannical possibilities.

F. What are the limitations or the negative features of divided government?

1. Grid-lock. That was part of the original design. Govt. was NOT intended to be aggressive or vigorous.
  2. Slow and deliberate activity, often resulting in no action or policy or retention of the status quo.
  3. Divided Government may produce nearly “civil war” between the two branches of gov't.
  4. It can be very hard for specific members of the House and Senate majority to work with a President from the other party.
- a. The Congress after 1996 devoted a great deal of time to investigating Democ. Party campaign finances and practices.
  - b. The Impeachment of Clinton can also be viewed in this light.
  - c. The Senate has held up any number of presidential appointments:

- 1) Lower federal judicial appointments are stalled in the Senate Judiciary Committee. This to the point that last year at about this time, the Chief Justice of the United States issued a public statement requesting that the Senate act to fill these vacancies because the judiciary was so understaffed.
- 2) Confirmation of Clinton’s appointment to head the Civil rights Division of the Dept. of Justice is blocked and Lann Lee is an interim appointment, without Senate Confirmation.
- 3) Appointment of many Ambassadors has been blocked by the chair of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee who disagrees with many of Clinton’s actions abroad.

G. One value of party government, even “limited party government” in the U.S., is that party leaders can persuading officials to cooperate with each other, even if they disagree.

H. However, many believe that this gridlock is NOT due to Divided Government. Rather, it is due to disagreements that arise even within a single party.

Gridlock does not seem any more prevalent in Divided Govt. than in not divided eras.

V. An Overview of Political Parties

A. For decades, observers has seen parties as declining in importance. “The party is over.” Is a frequent phrase.

B. What evidence is there of such decline?

1. There has been a decline in party identification among some American Voters.
2. Confidence in parties has declined.
3. Fewer people vote straight party tickets.
4. Parties have lost much of their earlier role in Candidate selection as Primaries have become widespread, and rank and file party members play a bigger, if more casual, role in candidate selection.
5. Grassroots party organization is withered in many parts of the country.

6. Most attention to television and media campaigns and less reliance on party campaign organization leads to a reduced role for parties.

C. What are the results of declining political parties? May be that is no great loss?

1. Politics becomes more volatile.
2. Interest Groups become more influential
3. Public Policy is less coherent or unified. It is more piecemeal.

D. How could the decline of political parties be stopped? This question indicates parties are important and vital. Some would argue against that view. But how can parties be revitalized?

1. These suggestions may not work, and they may certainly NOT be popular with many people.
2. Give parties more role in candidate selection. Rebuild that traditional party role.
3. This might involve reducing or eliminating party primaries in favor of state nominating conventions.
4. Increase public funding for party activities, perhaps by giving parties and their candidates free air time.
5. Impose severe spending limits for campaigns, so campaigns become more party-centered rather than candidate-centered.
6. Re-institute the Indiana Ballot. That is a single stroke on the ballot would allow voters to select all a party's candidates for all offices.

E. These Proposals may not work, and some of them are certainly controversial. However, without functioning and viable political parties people – voters – may have little real choice at election time.

VI. Interest Groups are very significant political actors, even though they serve no formal governmental function.

Political parties can be viewed as more important than interest groups because they have a semi-formal function – nominating candidates and contesting for control of governments.

- A. Interest Groups have become an everyday, widespread, constant in American Politics. Why?
- B. Groups have become a major voice for the preferences of people, not necessarily the common or the ordinary people, in American Government.
- C. The First Amendment enhances the claims of these policy advocates.

1. The Right of Free Speech
2. The Right to Petition Government for the redress of grievances.
3. The Right to Assemble

D. There are theoretical arguments for Interest Groups in a democracy. This is called PLURALISM or even HYPER-PLURALISM:

Pluralism is defined well in the textbooks.

1. Free elections are infrequent and inadequate to communicate people's preferences accurately.
2. Interest Groups are relatively easy to create. They do not need to be formal or highly structured.
3. The broad dispersion of power in this country, because of Federalism and the Separation of Powers, provides many points of access for interests to influence policy.
4. Interest Groups make it possible for legitimate interests to express their views and have them taken into consideration by policy makers.

E. Growth in the size of government and the breadth of public policy so there is more pressure for people to be heard and to influence policies.

F. The growth and expansion of Interest Groups may reflect more disturbances or problems that concern people.

G. Note the Free Rider Problem. What does this have to do with Interest Groups?

VII. What interests are Represented?

- A. There are many private interests articulated by groups, and there are also a few "public" represented in the policy making process.
- B. Private Interests

1. Producers of products – goods and services.

- a. Agriculture producers have long been effectively represented.
- b. Manufacturers are well established, both individually and collectively.
- c. Service Providers are relatively new on the policy making scene and thus are inexperienced and not as well organized as other producer groups.
- d. These groups have monetary interests affected by Govt. policies, price supports, market protections, and the like.

2. Professional organizations and interests are often represented.

- a. Doctors.
  - b. Lawyers
  - c. Dentists
  - d. The impact of these interests depends on their organization, their resources (\$) and the issues they are interested in
3. Unions are well organized and large, and that usually gets their policy interests the attention of officials.

### C. Public Interests

- 1. These often include groups of citizens, concerned about either general matters, or very narrow emotional issues, such as corruption, moral problems, or the like.
- 2. Many governmental units also engage in great lobbying efforts to get federal benefits or programs favorable to their interests.
  - a. The National Governors Conference
  - b. The National League of Cities
  - c. Individual states and local or municipal governments seek to protect or advance their interests through interest group activity.

### VIII. How are interests represented by Groups?

- A. There are a great many tactics that Interest Groups can use to bloc policies or obtain favorable policies.
- B. Note that blocking policy changes or blocking new policies are easier than getting new policies adopted. This is the advantage of the status quo.
- C. The tactics and efforts used by Interest Groups depend on the resources and strengths of the various actors.
- D. There are various efforts that appears to be “INSIDE” the policy making process.

Lobbying the relevant government officials is often the first tactic thought of in this context. Notice that the target of lobbying is NOT always congress or the legislature.

- 1. Lobbying the Courts through litigation also occurs.
- 2. Lobbying the executive branch, largely administrative and regulatory agencies, is frequently the best way to “get what you want.”
- 3. This kind of lobbying maybe buttonholing people in the halls, and persuading them.
  - a. However, it also includes providing information, some of it very technical and sophisticated, to policy makers.
  - b. It may involve providing campaign support (\$) to elected policy makers (incumbents), but NOT often. That kind of effort is most often done by certain kinds of (only a few) Interest Groups and by PACs.
  - c. Most lobbying is done with people who are NOT elected.
- 4. Lobbying Congress usually depends on the representative having contacts or friendships with individual members of congress. This include former congressmen or staffers who have “gone over to the other side.”
  - a. Congress often needs information about issues, that is education and interest groups can provide some of that.
  - b. Lobbying most often involves talking to your supporters not the opponents. Sometimes persuading undecided policymakers are cornered, but only on close issues.
- 5. Lobbying the Executive Branch is often based on contacts and prior experience with the agency – friendship.
  - a. Here, where regulatory agencies set rules and regulations for the implementation of general legislative policies, the technical, nitty-gritty of policy impact is determined.
  - b. Technical information is often supplied to regulators.
  - c. Support for regulatory decisions, coming from the regulated industry itself can give the agency political support and can insure compliance.
- 6. Lobbying Courts requires one of two, narrow tactics.
  - a. Initiating a case in federal court seeking to obtain a favorable decision either interpreting a statute OR enhancing as claimed right of the group.
  - b. The other tactic involves providing amicus curiae support as a “friend of the court” for the claims or issues raised by other, litigants in a case.

E. Other efforts are “OUTSIDE” tactics, that focus on the population in general or outside the policy making institutions. These efforts include:

- 1. Mobilizing membership. This kind of effort might involve

- a. letter writing,
- b. public demonstrations,
- c. getting members to vote for or against a candidate is also done in some instances,
- d. Working on campaigns for candidates the group or interest supports is a very important tactic in some cases,
- e. grass-roots or rank-and-file lobbying by amateurs is used in some policy debates in Congress.

2. Organizing a Representative's District, either to oppose or support the member of congress can convey the preferences of some, vocal constituents to the Representative.

3. Groups can seek to mold or shape public opinion through advertising campaigns.

IX. The system of Interest Activity yields certain kinds of results, beneficial and detrimental to various interests.

A. Some interests are much more successful in others in getting their message across and protecting or advancing their interests.

B. Various interests certainly have more or less access to policy makers. Always remember gaining access.

C. This access problem leads to the view of Iron Triangles and capture. More broadly there are policy or issue networks or sub-governments that are cozy little groups of friends who share the same policy interests and some symbiotic dependence or connections.

D. Various groups have different levels and kinds of resources.

E. Some interests are NOT even represented in this pluralist view of politics.

F. Political Action Committees (PACs) arose and flourished as the mechanism to collect (bundle) campaign contributions and channel those to particular candidates, usually incumbents, who had the right stands on policy or who had power in the policy making process.

G. Now soft money allows many other sources of campaign contributions. These alternatives also get access to and the attention of candidates and elected officials.

X. There are Major differences in the access of Interest Groups to policy making depending on interests, resources, experiences

A. There is a "special place" for corporations and business interests in this Interest Group scheme.

1. These interests have tremendous resource advantages.

2. These groups also enjoy a very high regard or respect among many segments of American society.

3. Companies can always "vote with their feet." That is they can leave a community, abandoning physical plant and "community" at the drop of a hat if they do not like a local policy or a state "climate." The threat of this often gets companies significant economic benefits.

4. A company can also leave the country, not just a community or the state. Thus, many auto and clothing manufacturers have moved assembly plants to other countries where labor costs are very low OR where the climate is more hospitable.

B. This is truly the politics of factions in Madison's sense of that word.

1. This undermines political equality.

2. It makes coherent national policy very difficult or impossible.

3. How do we solve or reduce these kinds of problems?

4. Are they really problems?

C. There is little room or open access for various social movements

1. This involves the politics of outsiders.

2. Movements are often grass-roots efforts, generally focused around some grievance.

3. These efforts are becoming more and more difficult in modern times but they still occur.

## Lecture #9 The Congress of the United States

I. The Congress was intended to be the primary body of the national govt.

A. The legislature was to make public policy.

B. Bicameral based on representation of two separate sets of constituents.

1. The Senate was to represent the interests of the state legislatures.

2. The House was to represent the people.

3. This two-house structure was known as the "Great" or the "Connecticut Compromise."

C. The houses are mutually dependent on each other to pass legislation thereby making public policy.

D. The Senate and the House have some differences of power, but these are not terribly significant.

1. Senate gives its advice and consent to treaties, Presidential appointments of executive officers, and federal judges.

2. The House and the Senate play different roles in the impeachment process or any official, from the President down, who is subject to impeachment and removal from office.

3. Appropriations bills must originate in the House.
4. Each house is the judge of its own elections.

E. The policy making process was designed to be a careful, deliberative process. It was not intended to focus on emergencies or crises, or matters that required immediate responses.

1. Either the President or an Executive Officer was to handle those kinds of matters. Or
2. The states would respond to emergencies.

F. Obviously, modern-day policy making and the legislative process have changed a great deal from this original view of the legislature.

## II. The Power of the Legislature

A. Enumerated powers are those that are explicit in the Constitution. See Art. I, Section 8 for the clearest list (the “laundry list”) of legislative powers.

1. These are both broad and general powers like

- a. “. . . to provide for the common Defence and the general Welfare or
- b. “To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indiana Tribes.”

2. There are markably narrow powers as well in the laundry list.

- a. These include providing “Punishment for counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States” and
- b. Defining and punishing “Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas . . .”

3. Note the last paragraph of Section 8. This is a very important provision of the Constitution. It is called the Elastic Clause.

To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

4. This provision has been used to allow Congress a wide flexibility in choosing how to administer and achieve the policies it enacts. The Court held in *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819) that the clause permitted Congress to choose any means that was not prohibited by the Constitution to achieve a constitutional end.

5. The Constitution also imposes limitations on the Congress. These limitations are listed in Article I, Section 9. Read it, because it shows what the Framers’ real concerns about the legislature were.

B. There are structural limits on Congress as well as limitations of explicit power.

1. Bicameralism.

2. Re-read Federalism No. 51. It will clearly indicate something of what the Federalists though were limits on federal and legislative power.

C. In addition to the enumerated powers of Congress, there have emerged or developed implied or inherent powers. These are NOT the same kinds of power. Keep them separate.

## III. Organization of Congress

A. Congress’s organization is largely the result of practice and experience rather than a formal outline.

B. Leadership in Congress revolves around the majority party in each House.

1. The Speaker of the House and the Senate Majority Leader are both the formal and the informal leaders of the majority party.

2. The House is much more formally organized. Note that the Speaker of the House is a constitutional officer. The Senate Majority Leader is NOT.

3. Party leadership differs from institutional leaders. Note the party caucuses in each house have their own organization as well as their own leaders.

4. Committee Chairs are majority party leaders, within particular policy areas. They have formal and informal power over legislation and institutional agendas.

a. Chairs are usually selected on the basis of seniority – length of consecutive terms served on a particular committee. The Republicans, in 1995, after the 1994 election, ignored Seniority to a remarkable degree that may indicate the breakdown of seniority. The Democrats are much more likely to follow a strict or closer seniority rule than the Republicans seem to be.

b. There are sub-committees that also have chairs, members of the majority with some seniority and subject matter interest or expertise.

c. There has been a proliferation of subcommittees until the Republicans took over in 1995. Then subcommittees shrunk somewhat. The

purpose was to concentrate power in the hands of the Republican leadership.

### C. The legislative process

The work of Congress is done in Committees. These are mini-legislatures.

- a. The partisan make-up of the Committee is as close to the entire House or Senate as is possible. The Majority Party has the same majority in each Committee and Subcommittee that it has in the whole house.
- b. These are Standing Committees that are permanent and have continuing subject matter jurisdiction over policy areas.
- c. Note the number of titles of these committees. They do the bulk of the legislative work and they are truly mini-legislatures.
- d. The other kinds of committees are, Joint, Select, and Conference Committees. These serve particular, immediate and non-permanent functions. Look these up in your textbooks for definitions and functions.
- e. Committees have staffs of subject matter experts, hired largely by the majority party.

- 1) Ranking minority committee members have some staff to assist the minority in terms of committee work.
- 2) The size of staff varies but they play major roles in
  - a) Conducting research and formulating legislation.
  - b) Scheduling committee business, hearings for example.
  - c) The shape of legislation and getting favored legislation through the legislative process.
- 3) The actual drafting of most legislation is done by:
  - a) The Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress. These are the professionals who know what they are doing and they draft whatever legislation any legislator asks them to draft.
  - b) OR Interest Groups that want particular pieces of legislation introduced so the draft it and give it to a supportive Representative or Senator for introduction.
- f. The power of the Committee:

1) Controls what happens to the bills that are sent (referred) to it for consideration.

- a) Nothing. The bill dies in Committee.
- b) The Committee holds hearings on the bills to inform the Committee about the problem, the issues, the possible solutions, and then, nothing happens.
- c) Hearings are conducted and the Committee marks up the legislation, perhaps melding several similar bills into one, and then votes it out of committee to the whole house.
- d) Note the processes and the steps by which a “bill becomes a law.” These illustrate the tortuous, hazardous, difficult legislative process.
- e) This “committee” work may be done by subcommittees or by the whole committee. In the House, the reliance is on subcommittees. The Senate is more likely to work in full committees.

2) Committees control which interests get heard (in hearings) or by consideration of agenda items advocated by one group or another.

g. Committee membership is important for individual legislators. So there is a great effort to be appointed to the “right” committees when a legislator enters Congress.

- 1) The “right committee” is often the one with jurisdiction over matters of importance to constituents, e.g., Agriculture, Resources, Small Business.
- 2) The “right committee” for a Representative or Senator may often be the Appropriations Committee in each house because that committee controls the MONEY. Obviously, getting money for programs for constituents is very important.

h. Remembers Committees are an essential part of a policy network, iron triangles, or policy subgovernments.

3. Bills reported out of committee adopted or passed by the Committee can be considered on the Floor. The Process on the Floor of the two chambers is different.

a. House bills must have a RULE attached to them before being scheduled for Floor consideration.

- 1) Open or Closed Rule
- 2) Debate is limited a fixed amount of time.

- b. House Floor managers of bills are often the advocates or Committee chairs or sponsors.
- c. House debate is largely staged for show. It is not for deliberation or convincing and persuading.
- d. Senate consideration is informally scheduled by the leadership – Majority and Majority Leaders.
- e. Senate debate is unlimited or untimed.
- f. Senate debate need not be germane.
- g. Therefore the Filibuster can be used to stop the legislative process in the Senate.

1) The Filibuster can be broken by a cloture vote.

- 2) By physical exhaustion of the speakers.
- 3) It often results in the Senate dropping consideration of the opposed bill so that the process is not log-jammed.
4. The end result, if approved by both houses of Congress, is different bills adopted by each house.
  - a. Conference Committees meet and resolve differences between the two versions.
  - b. The Committee Report is taken back for up or down approval by each house. Not amendments.
  - c. If both houses adopted the Conference committee report, then the bill is sent to the President – Presentment – for his approval or veto.
  - d. Note the Line-Item Veto which allowed the President to select portions of a bill for veto leaving the rest in place as a law, was recently adopted by Congress and declared invalid by the Supreme Court in *Clinton v. City of New York* (1998).
5. The end result of the legislative process is policies that are compromises.
  - a. No one gets exactly what they want.
  - b. People who think that there is only one solution to a problem, theirs, do not succeed in the legislative process as law makers or as lobbyists.
  - c. Compromises between contending interest groups and policy advocates.
  - d. Compromise among beneficiary groups and policy experts.
  - e. Compromise between and among legislators in and outside the Committees.
  - f. Compromise between the White House and the Congress.

#### IV. The Functions of Congress

- A. Congress's functions are performed in different ways, through both the institution and individual legislators.
- B. Lawmaking is a prominent function of Congress. This is the traditional policymaking role that we expect of Congress.
  1. This involves the formal and the informal dimensions of making a law.
  2. The process is slow and elaborate. Many bills before they become law are introduced every Congress and are stymied somewhere in the process.
  3. The hurdles and bottlenecks far outnumber the icy or slick patches in the process.
  4. The deliberative process is NOT very solemn, but it is slow or gridlocked.
  5. Major legislation is very difficult to enact, even if everyone agrees it needs to be done. There are so many different views of the policy.
  6. Congress is not designed to handle broad or fundamental issues of policy. They are much better at narrow or specific policies.
- C. Representation is also a function performed by Congress both generally and particularly.
  1. The 21 least populous states (49) have fewer representatives than California (52).
  2. Note the Senators generally have a broader or larger view than do Representatives. That is even the case where the state has only one Representative. The House tends to deal in the minutia of specific clienteles and constituents.
  3. Clientele interests.
    - a. These are interest groups from within districts or states or who have interests that coincide with the Congressperson.
    - b. They provide electoral support – voters and campaign finance – in return for access during the policy making process.
    - c. They provide expertise and information that educates the legislator AND underwrites their policy proposals.
  4. Constituent interests.
    - a. Providing an intermediary between individual constituents and bureaucracies is a crucial aspect of any legislator's work – casework.
    - b. Solving those problems or difficulties is crucial to getting constituents to vote for incumbents.
    - c. It works very well for many Representatives and Senators. Individuals remember favors or help.
5. Party Politics and Representation.
  - a. Party agendas sometimes provide the Representatives with a legislative agenda.
  - b. These are not always successful, depending on the issues and the policies because compromise sometimes is necessary to get anything adopted and so party ideology may cause Representatives to hold the line, but settle for no policy.
  - c. That is actually rather fatal for re-election efforts, no matter how strongly Constituents or Representatives themselves believe ideological positions.
6. Legislators adopt different Representation Roles.
  - a. A Trustee is a Representative who believes the people have elected her/him to use their own best judgment and to vote as they think best. There are some of these, and many consider this the appropriate role on certain issues, e.g., Foreign Policy.
  - b. A Delegate views their role as mirroring the preferences of their constituents with no thought or judgment used in the process. Many (most?) seek to follow this role because it is likely to gain the most support among the constituents.

c. A Politico operates freely to accomplish whatever policies they feel like with no limits imposed by constituents. The role is very seldom adopted by a Congressman.

D. Legislative Oversight is also a function that Congress performs

1. This is a very crucial role for the legislature and one that has only recently, in the past several decades, been treated seriously.
2. This involves assessing the impact of adopted policy.
3. Determining whether the legislature's intent was carried out by the administering agency.
4. Correcting, changing, eliminating, or altering policy to achieve the original policy or to take a new direction with regard to a policy.
5. Public complaints and disclosure are often used, as was the case last Spring with extreme complaints about the IRS and its handling of taxpayer problems.
6. Sunset Laws can be used to automatically terminate a program or an agency, and these have been used largely at the state level.
7. The legislative veto is another mechanism, declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in *I.N.S. v. Chadha* (1983), that has been used to control or direct agency decisions and actions.
8. Problems with oversight.

- a. It is an unrewarding and troublesome process in many instances.
- b. It is based on scrutiny or audits that are confrontational and conflictual in many situations.
- c. Oversight is a very huge and complex task.
- d. Oversight can be used for partisan political objectives.

E. There are clearly wide variations in how well and how successfully any of these functions is performed by the Congress.

V. In the end, how well does Congress represent "the People" and achieve the desires of the People?

- A. Certainly there is slippage and examples of failure.
- B. The institution and its processes are flawed in various ways.
- C. One could consider minor or major process or institutional changes but would they improve the resulting policy, or only change it?
- D. The advantages that some actors and interests have in the process and in the institutions may be quite troubling.
- E. But given the freedom and rights that we all enjoy, restricting some interests, in favor of others, or trying to balance the importance and power of some interests or all interests is a complicated, impossible, continuing task that we have avoided so far.

## Lecture #10 The Chief Executive

### I. Introduction

- A. The Role of the Executive has been to execute the laws enacted by Congress.
- B. That presumes a reactive rather than a proactive role for the President.
- C. This traditional role presumes a limited or only functionary role for the Executive. The President executes the laws that the legislature enacts, nothing more.
- D. The Executive was to be a SINGLE executive.
- E. Currently, the President's Power far exceeds the initial outline or set of expectations, because:

1. The Role of the federal govt. in developing public policy has exploded and expanded since the new Deal of the 1930s.
2. Congress cannot develop minute and detailed policy, so the statutes it enacts are often general

- a. It delegates, to executive agencies and departments, the authority to fill in the gaps and developed detailed regulatory and service-delivery policy.
- b. This delegation allows Congress to rely on executive expertise.
- c. It also allows Congress to blame someone else – the "bureaucracy or the "Administration" – for policy failures.

F. There are a wide variety of Roles and functions played by the President.

II. The formal, Constitutional roles and authority are limited and not very detailed or precise.

- A. President is Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. This provides civilian control over the military.
- B. The President plays a very significant role in foreign policy and diplomacy.

1. Appoints Ambassadors
2. Receives foreign representatives.
3. Makes Treaties with the Advice and Consent of the Senate.

C. The President has the power to appoint Executive Officers, so the President has Constitutional controls over the execution of the law.



1. Congress creates the executive offices and authorizes the President to appoint officers using various procedures, with or without Senate Advice and Consent.

2. The President does have the Constitutional requirement or obligation that he is to “take care that the laws be faithfully executed.”

D. The President is the Chief of State. This is a ceremonial role with great, symbolic significance.

E. The President has become a chief legislative actor because of his growing ability and interest in proposing legislation.

1. Developing the major policy, national agenda, give the President a much more proactive role (and Congress a reactive role) than envisioned by the Framers.

2. The only formal power in this regard is the State of the Union Address.

F. The President has become a Manager of the Economy. This results from power given the President by Congress in various pieces of legislation.

G. (Although not a formal power or role, the President is the head of his Political Party.)

III. The President’s Power also depends on the “view” of the incumbent. What does the President think his view is?

A. The Dormant Presidency prevailed during most of the 19th century and the first third of the 20th century.

B. This dormant view was interspersed with aggressive and proactive presidents.

1. Washington became the center actor in world affairs. Alexander Hamilton pushed Washington to develop a domestic agenda.

2. Jefferson bought Louisiana and doubled the size of the Country.

3. Lincoln’s actions during the Civil War certainly conveyed a aggressive and strong, central Presidency.

a. The military conduct of the Civil War by Lincoln was notable.

b. He fashioned the Emancipation Proclamation unilaterally..

4. President Theodore Roosevelt indicates the typical, proactive President of the 19th century. This may mark the beginning of the modern Presidency.

C. Structurally, this passive or dormant presidency was quite possible. The times did not require much proactive effort by presidents.

1. The country was NOT a world power, until the middle of the 20th century.

2. Actions and events brought the Presidency into its current state.

D. The Presidency of Franklin Roosevelt, with both the Depression of the 1930s and the War in the early 1940s, lead to the expansion of powers and the expansion of presidential roles.

E. Some of this development is due to individual presidents and their personalities and roles expectations.

F. The rest of the development of the modern presidency is due to events, circumstances, crises, and “the times.”

G. Thus, the Presidency is much less dormant and much more active now than a century or two centuries ago.

IV. The Organization of the Presidency

A. The President is an individual. We can examine individual presidents. We can study individual actors in this office. However, . . .

B. The Presidency is the broader institution that has much of the modern-day power of the Chief Executive.

C. The Institutional Presidency has much the most significance today.

D. There are several structures surrounding the President. These are created by each President, to serve his needs. The first of these modern institutions probably appeared during the administration of Franklin Roosevelt.

E. The White House Staff

1. Each President shapes their staff.

2. Chief of Staff

3. National Security Adviser

4. Press Secretary

5. These people are trusted advisers, olds friends, key confidants trusted by the President.

F. The Executive Office of the President (EOP).

1. This institution is larger than the White House Staff.

2. The EOP is more formal than the Staff.

3. These people do not have formal executive authority to administer laws, but their functions, relating to the Presidency, are vital.

a. The Office of Management and Budget (OMB)

b. The Council of Economic Advisers (CEA)

c. The National Security Council (NSC)

4. The organization of the EOP depends on the individual President and his advisers. These people will try various schemes to assist the President:

- a. Wheel and Hub organization
- b. Traditional Pyramid

c. Access to the President is an interesting kind of problem. It is a significant hurdle for some Cabinet members or others. The access, often by the Chief of Staff, makes that person very "powerful."

G. Note the Office of the Vice President.

- 1. The forgotten office has become increasingly more important as modern Presidents have increasingly "used" the Vice President.
- 2. More than one Vice President in Four has become President in the 20th century because of death or resignation.
- 3. The two-term limit on the President holding office has also made succession easier (Bush, Nixon in 1960, maybe Gore in 2000).
- 4. As a potential successor the training and experience of being Vice President can be very important.
- 5. There is no formal, constitutional role for the Vice President. So the use depends on the President and his relationship to the Veep.

H. The Cabinet

- 1. Traditionally, this body could form a formal body of Presidential advisers.
- 2. More Presidents have NOT used them that way.
- 3. Individual Cabinet members may be close policy or personal advisers to the President, but some are almost strangers to the President.
- 4. Cabinet members also have outside constituencies.

- a. The Department's civil servants.
- b. Department clientele
- c. Department Congressional Committee
- d. These constituents are much more significant, day-in and day-out than is the President.

- 1) So Cabinet Secretaries may pay little attention to the President,
- 2) They may actually be disloyal in some circumstances to the President.

5. All Cabinet members are not equally important to the President.

- a. The Inner Cabinet – State, Justice, Defense, Treasury.
- b. The Outer Cabinet are the rest. These are often focused on specific clientele or beneficiary groups and interests.

V. The President and the Bureaucracy

- A. There has been a vast growth in the size of the federal bureaucracy in the past 65 years, but most of the growth has been in Local and State bureaucracies.
- B. Presidents have relatively little (or no) control over the day-to-day operation of administrative agencies.
- C. The President may be able to provide general, atmospheric direction to an agency, but not influence immediate or specific decisions or choices.
- D. Much of what the President can do in connection with the administration of policy depends on:

- 1. His ability to persuade top Dept. officials.
- 2. His ability to deflect negative, opposition from clientele, civil servants, and Congress.

E. Some agencies are beyond the reach of the President. They are "independent" commissions or agencies.

- 1. Regulatory agencies such as Federal Trade Commission or the National Labor Relations Board.
- 2. These are supposed to be expert, independent, non-partisan agencies.

F. There are serious questions about the effectiveness of the President as the Chief Executive or Administrator.

- 1. Control of bureaucracy is quite limited at best.
- 2. Technical expertise of the President is very limited or non-existent. President must rely on experts.
- 3. This is not necessarily an impossible problem
  - a. But there are certainly times when Presidents may try to intervene and micro-manage, with negative consequences.
  - b. Or the President cannot get the agency to move quickly or in the right direction to suit Congress, the Public, or the President.
- 4. The President must rely on administrators and appointments for this part of his work.

## VI. Presidents as Recruiters.

A. Presidential appointments can be significant ? Eisenhower's appoint of Earl Warren to Supreme Court.

1. Presidents have control over 5,000 appointments.
2. Presidents aim for qualified and talented managers, bureaucrats, advisors and the like.

. B. Ethics in Govt Act of 1978 discourages some appointees ? risks of personal embarrassment and financial disclosure are great.

C. This statute also creates the Office of Independent Counsel, which authorizes appointments by the Court of Appeals for the Dist. Of Columbia to examine allegations of wrongdoing by high executive officers.

D. No president knows enough people to appoint to fill the positions he has open.

1. Presidents rely on advisers or advocates. These are particularly political campaign advisors.
2. Presidents often appoint political supporters ? campaign contributors.

a. President does not know these people personally. President Reagan and Sam Pierce Sec of HUD.

b. People will do this for a short time, to make a killing, make an impact, or to "make policy" and contribute to the well-being of America.

3. The president's appointment powers may be very important to his Presidency, but most presidents are not well served by this process or its results.

## VII. Presidents as Crisis Managers

A. President is "commander-in-chief." That role have become more significant in contemporary era's foreign policy crises. In addition, Congress delegates more crisis management power to president all the time.

1. Foreign crises draw our attention and provide Presidents with opportunities.
2. Foreign crises have sometimes expanded the President's domestic powers.
3. This mixture is troubling or can lead to serious constitutional crises, and violations of the law.

B. Executive Agreements, fear of nuclear war, and deterrence have increased the probability of foreign crisis management.

1. The current international scene may detract from this view of the President and eliminate some opportunities for the President.
2. How will individual presidents adjust?
3. How will the Presidency change as a result of the decline or disappearance of the "Communist threat?"
4. Brush fires may continue to arise (or be manufactured) in order to provide the President with such changes at crisis management.

a. Grenada Invasion

b. The Marines in Lebanon

c. NATO bombing and troop deployment in Bosnia and is Kosovo

C. Domestic crises ? oil spills, Chrysler going bankrupt ? also mean that the President is looked to as the national problem-solver.

1. However, just what is a domestic crisis? Unemployment? the failure of the S&Ls?
2. Domestic crises involve more players than just the President ? Senators and Representatives from geographic regions or who have injured constituents. Governors.
3. These factors mean the President will not have as free a hand or as clear a directive and support for such problems.

VIII. Presidents as Priority Setters -- The President is the nation's Number One agenda setter. Some presidents have no clear agenda, and some do not even articulate one, after they enter office.

## A. National Security Policy

1. Presidents have greater leeway in foreign policy and military affairs than in domestic matters.

a. The President commands diplomatic corp and armed services.

b. The President can act quickly, and that gives him tremendous advantages over Congress. The legislative process is not conducive to quick or decisive action, and that is particularly true in the area of foreign policy where Congress has traditionally deferred to the actions of the President.

2. The Supreme Court, in the Curtiss-Wright case (1936), asserted the president was "sole organ of federal govt in field of international relations."

3. President has the Secretary of State who formally represents the U.S. in a variety of situations.

4. National Security Advisor provides different views than Secretary of State.

5. Independent negotiators may be appointed to bargain with foreign powers with regard to specific, major treaties.

## B. Economic Policy.

1. Presidents are expected to ensure economic growth/prosperity. That is politically vital to his reelection, and to his popularity.
2. The President can rely on advisors on economic policy. These include Sec. of Treas. CEA members and OMB head.
3. The President, despite his controls over some aspects of economic policy, cannot control a great many of the variables which influence the economic well-being of the U.S. However, the President's popularity is linked directly to these conditions, by many people.

## C. Domestic Policy.

1. The essence of modern presidency is its potential capability to resolve these societal conflicts.
  - a. Economic health of the country is the most important determinant of voter decisions and popularity.
  - b. Domestic problems or conditions are messy, ill-defined. Furthermore, solutions are not always apparent or easily agreed upon by actors.
  - c. The President must share the policymaking spotlight in domestic affairs with others: The President must share the policymaking spotlight in domestic affairs with others:
    - 1) legislators, Congressmen.
    - 2) Policy entrepreneurs.
    - 3) Policy experts who have alternative platforms for advocating solutions.
    - 4) Average citizens, who think they have a solution to the problem.
2. The President ? with congressional help ? can enunciate national goals/propose laws (may have been considered in earlier Congresses).
3. This agenda setting and debate, is probably the hardest job the President has. It may be the most important.

## IX. President as Legislative and Political Coalition Builder.

### A. Introduction.

1. State of the Union Address can dramatize presidents national image and legis. agenda.
2. White House sends detailed drafts of legislation to congress. Legislators introduce the bills.
3. President, as a politician, must manage conflict through negotiations and bargaining.
4. Presidents usually spend a great deal of their time (a majority of time?) persuading people ? others feel that their own self-interest can be served through cooperation with President.
5. Note that the President's skills here and his interest are crucial to his success in this regard:
  - a. Some Presidents are not interested in this ? Reagan.
  - b. Some Presidents lack skills in this sort of activity ? Carter.
  - c. Some Presidents seek to reduce the need for this kind of bargaining and negotiation by publicly threatening vetoes, demanding Congress give in on some things, confronting opponents ? Bush
  - d. Clinton seems to be remarkably successful in a variety of private and public ways with Congress. Why is that? Perhaps his particular priorities are NOT engraved in stone.

### B. The Prime Time Presidency.

1. Press conferences can build presidential support among media, public, and interest groups.
2. The President is news. Bumping your head on the helicopter, or pulling your dog's ears.
3. Most Presidents lose support in the polls the longer they are in office. (President is blamed, media criticism sharpens.) Bush's popularity slipped in the poll taken the first of this week.
4. Notice the various diagrams of Presidential popularity. This displays a major indicator of the "Prime Time Presidency."

### C. Party Leadership.

1. No president can ever fully lead a political party.
  - a. The President has not formal position in party structure.
  - b. President needs party's support for his legislative agenda; party needs the President's prestige.
2. President actually picks national party chair; he also can give candidates recognition and publicity in Washington. Note the President's announcement after the Louisiana election this week, NOT to support the Republican nominee ? David Dukes.
3. Limits on Party Leadership.

- a. Presidents have little influence over selection of party candidates for Congress/state and local offices.
- b. Presidents must bargain/negotiate with party leaders.

4. Lack of party support or weak party organization in a state or area will force a president (or presidential candidate) to develop and rely on his personal organization.

## X. The Future of the Presidency

A. The President's Power and its Exercise depends on:

- 1. The times and conditions – circumstances or the opportunities.
- 2. The individual who is President.
- 3. The partisanship of Congress.
- 4. The preferences of the "People."

B. Impeachment as a tool of control is interesting and "newly discovered."

- 1. Whether Impeachment is workable or effective seems to be a question.
- 2. It may be used to cripple or limit the POWER of the President in various circumstances.
- 3. It may be used very rarely, although we have had two near Impeachments and Convictions within the past 25 years.

C. There is the view that the public has "overburdened office with exaggerated expectations."

- 1. People need to be skeptical of presidential decisions, doubt or question them, rather than accept them easily.
- 2. Other institutions should grow in stature as well. Congress must re-assert its prerogatives and powers.

D. Reformers want Congress and President elected at same time, creating a unified party ticket; Other reforms include:

- 1. Presidents should serve a single, six-year term.
- 2. Members of Congress should serve in the Cabinet.
- 3. Repeal of two-term limitation.
- 4. Presidents should have power to dissolve Congress, call for new elections.
- 5. This reflects a set of structural changes that would move the US Govt toward a parliamentary system, requiring responsible parties in the traditional sense of that term.

E. Paradox of the Am. Presidency ? it is both too powerful and too weak.

F. Americans' mixed views of presidency may continue to place chief executives in "no win situations."

## Lecture #11 The Bureaucracy

### I. Introduction

A. This component of American Govt. is the most pervasive

- 1. It reaches the most people – everyone in the country has dealt with bureaucracies and bureaucrats.
- 2. It affects the most dimensions of our lives. Driver's licensing, to marriage licenses, to day care licensing, to drug safety and efficacy.

B. The Bureaucracy can be encompassed within the Executive Branch, as the "extended arm" of the Chief Executive. See Sidlow and Henschen Figure. 15-2, p. 393

C. However, it is probably more accurate to indicate it is largely independent from the Chief Executive.

- 1. That is because of the limited control the President or the White House has over the Bureaucracy.
- 2. Remember the Iron Triangle or Sub-Government idea and the place that bureaucracy or administrative agencies play in that scheme.

D. Bureaucracy can be viewed as undemocratic since the members are not answerable or responsible to the population. However, the bureaucracy is demographically very representative of the population.

E. Bureaucracy has a very negative connotation. Yet, a remarkable number of people/employees are bureaucrats.

- 1. The term is really neutral and relates to a social organization and its people.
- 2. The characteristics of a bureaucracy are:

- a. A large organization
- b. Involving people with specialized knowledge

- c. Organizes is a clear and explicit hierarchical structure. See Sidlow and Henschen Figure 15-3, p. 495
- d. Seeking to achieve a specified mission.
- e. There is a clear chain of command
- f. With formal rules and procedures to guide decisions and behavior.
- g. The selection and promotion of people are accomplished through merit processes.

F. The advantage of a bureaucracy:

- 1. It can organize large, complex tasks.
- 2. It contains specialized knowledge and talent.

G. Criticisms involve a wide variety of issues.

- 1. The bureaucracy is insensitive and impersonal to individual people or requests.
- 2. It is rigid and inflexible to idiosyncratic requests.
- 3. It is slow and unable to move quickly, even if that is needed.
- 4. It is a never-ending expansion of people and policies into our lives.
- 5. It is wasteful and inefficient
- 6. It is ineffective in achieving policy objective.

II. The Bureaucracy has grown or emerged with the transformation of the Executive Branch

A. The Growth of Government particularly since the New Deal of the 1930s has created much need for an administrative bureaucracy.

- 1. This involves the creation of many governmental policies.
- 2. It also involves the expansion of govt. more philosophically.
- 3. The growth did NOT begin in the 1930s, for we have always had bureaucracy, and much of it is at the local, regional, state, and even inter-state level, rather than at the Federal (national) level of govt.

B. The expansion of the “Regulatory State” in the 1960s and 1970s with the development of a number of federal policies relating to social programs – welfare, civil rights, urban development, consumer protection, workplace safety, education – have all contributed to the growth in bureaucracy.

C. This growth involves

- 1. The numerical size of bureaucracy – note the diagram involved in Writing Assignment # 8.
- 2. The expansion of authority or power to control and regulate individual, corporate, and organizational behavior.
- 3. The growth in technical expertise on the part of the bureaucracy which excludes individuals and ordinary citizens from understanding or controlling or influencing the choices and decisions of these organizations.

D. Currently, there are various discussions and efforts at DEVOLUTION.

- 1. This has bureaucratic AND federal implications.
- 2. These efforts would dismantle, or shrink the size of the federal bureaucracy as programs and their control are devolved to the states and the localities.
- 3. However, this may ONLY increase the size of state and local bureaucratic agencies.
- 4. Such devolution may have the advantage of moving the bureaucracy closer to the people and thereby increasing popular control.

III. How is the Executive Branch organized?

A. There are DEPARTMENTS that are headed by single, cabinet-level Secretaries. These execute the basic and most essential functions of govt. For example, Treasury, State, and Defense.

B. There are INDEPENDENT EXECUTIVE AGENCIES. These report directly to the President. These may be focused on giving the President direct and close control of certain policies.

C. GOVERNMENT CORPORATIONS engage in some service like function with govt. sanctions. These include TVA, Amtrak.

D. INDEPENDENT REGULATORY COMMISSIONS have quasi-independent authority to regulate some market functions. FCC, SEC and NLRB.

E. FOUNDATIONS are separate from the rest of govt. and they function to support, and distribute govt. funds to particularly favored activity. NSF, NEH.

IV. The Functions of Bureaucracies appear to be limited but they are quite extensive.

A. Rule Making involves the establishment of regulatory rules for the conduct of commercial or other private affairs

- 1. This is characterized as a quasi-legislative process and function.

2. The process of making rules includes legislative-like considerations.

- a. Notice of proposed rulemaking.
- b. A comment period when anyone can submit comments to the agencies in support or opposition to this proposal.
- c. Lastly, the formulation of a final rule that governs all the actors in this particular setting, whether that is a few or literally thousand or hundreds of thousands of people

B. Adjudication involves agency determination if specific individual actors have violated existing rules and if so whether or what penalties are assessed.

1. This is a quasi-judicial function.
2. This process involves procedures that appear to be judicial in nature because the end result may well be a fine or other penalty on the individual actor

- a. Notice of the charges or a complaint.
- b. There is a hearing that allows for presentation of evidence and counter-evidence before an impartial hearing officer – an Administrative Law Judge or a Hearing Examiner.
- c. The rendering of a set of findings (of fact) and conclusions (of law) regarding the charges.
- d. There is some kind of written explanation for the decision.
- e. There is the opportunity to appeal these determinations to a the full agency or to a court of law. This appeal may involve a question of policy, should the agency impose the sanction, or questions of law regarding the fairness of the procedures or the application of the agency rules and regulations.

V. There is great power in the bureaucracy because of the discretion given to the agency by the legislature – the statutory delegation of power.

A. This power derives from the formal, statutory authority given the agency by Congress.

1. This comes from technical knowledge and expertise the agency possesses through its employees.
2. This power also comes from the vague wording of most statutes that give discretion to the agency.

B. Reforming government and the bureaucracy is a never-ending and continual task.

1. Cutting bureaucracy often means shrinking the number of people who work in an agency or in the bureaucracies generally. Where would most of those cuts be? At the local level.
2. Privatization means removing agency authority, giving it back to free action and elimination the bureaucracy altogether. That may work but has anyone flown on an airplane lately?
3. Protecting against abuses of power by the bureaucracy involves a variety of legislative oversight efforts and procedural changes (complications) to “prevent” the bureaucracies from making the last batch of mistakes that are visible.
4. Popular participation could be expanded. This would allow more private citizens greater influence over agency decisions. But this may ignore agency expertise and consistent agency decisions.
5. Encouraging and protecting whistleblowing. This is designed to encourage people who are civil servant to call mistakes and errors to the attention of the public and the government. It works to some degree, but it is episodic and occasional. It is not a systematic and reliable way of controlling bureaucracies.

C. Formal control of Bureaucracy

1. President

- a. Appointment of agency heads.
- b. Control of agency’s annual budget requests.
- c. Control over adding or subtracting programs from the agency through changes in legislation.
- d. These are imperfect controls at the very best because of the distance between the President and the agency, its program, and its expertise. Remember the Iron Triangle here, would suggest that agencies have independent support for budget and authority.

2. Congress This largely relates to Legislative Oversight.

- a. This does give Congress close control if it desires to exercise that power, but the oversight committee is often a part of the Iron Triangle so the control may be limited or supportive.
- b. Control over the budget of the agency largely rests in the hands of the relevant legislative committees
- c. So, also does the agency’s program authority

3. The judiciary has some significant control over agency actions.

- a. Review of agency statutory authority can expand or contract the agency's power through court interpretation.
  - b. Judicial review of agency procedures and decisional processes also can result in limiting how and agency proceeds to exercise the authority it does have.
4. Clientele that are regulated by an agency or who receive agency benefits can exercise some kinds of control.
- a. Support for agency budget and program requests before Congress. Remember the "triangle" again.
  - b. Working closely with an agency in the formulation of a regulation or a rule can greatly change the direction and the impact of the agency policy.
    - 1) That may soften or ease the rigor of the rule. Agencies do get valuable, technical information from clientele.
    - 2) It may also gain better compliance with the rule by the clientele who helped formulate it.
5. The Public has little formal power over an agency, but public scrutiny and complaints can bring legislative pressure of change on an agency
6. Sunset legislation has worked in some state and local instances.
- a. The statute specifies that the agency and its programs will disappear at a fixed date, certain, unless the legislature re-approves or re-authorizes the agency and its program.
  - b. Legislatures may require systematic outside evaluation of the agency's work before re-authorizing.
  - c. The U.S. Congress has NOT enacted any legislation of this kind and is unlikely to do that. Why? (Does the Iron Triangle of political support and symbiotic dependence have anything to contribute to the answer?)

## VI. The Future of the Bureaucracy.

- A. This phenomenon is inevitable. We have not devised any other way to implement or execute policies.
- B. Eliminating policies would eliminate the bureaucracy, but few if anyone would really want that.
- C. Reducing the size or authority of agencies largely reduces its effectiveness or the chance that the agency will do a good job implementing the policy.
- D. That perhaps leaves room for minor, incremental or slight changes or reforms.

## Lecture #12 The Courts

### I. The Courts and the Judiciary: Introduction

- A. The Courts can be viewed as above or beyond politics.
- B. They are beyond partisan politics, but they also exercise a great deal of power in this country.
  - 1. Most of that power involves judicial interpretations of statutes.
  - 2. The most visible and controversial of the Courts' powers deals with the power of Judicial Review.
  - 3. Courts also are involved in exercising power when they apply the law to a case, thereby implementing legislation.
- C. Courts are much less "democratic" or "representative" than the other branches of Govt. Why?

### II. Judicial Organization

- A. There are Fifty-one judicial systems in this country, and there are fifty-one sets of laws.
- B. The federal judicial system is only one of these, and thus the judiciary is really a prime example of federalism.
- C. The Federal System has three levels of courts of general jurisdiction.
  - 1. These courts are all creatures of Congress because the Constitution gives Congress the power to create the courts it thinks necessary. Art I and Art III both contain provisions.
  - 2. Note the differences between Art I and Art III Courts.
  - 3. Congress creates the Court, determines the staffing (the number of judges), specifies the jurisdiction.
- D. See Sidlow and Henschen Fig 16-1; Fiorina and Peterson, Fig. 15.2 for diagrams of the organizational structure of the federal judiciary.
  - 1. The traditional, Art. III courts are organized geographically.
    - a. Courts of Appeals
    - b. District Courts
  - 2. There are Art. I courts that have specialized subject matter jurisdiction



- a. Tax Court
- b. Court of Federal Claims
- c. Court of Veterans Appeals
- d. Court of International Trade

E. Primary difference in courts is the difference between Trial courts (the federal District Courts) and Appellate courts (the Courts of Appeals).

- 1. The functions of these two categories of courts differ – findings of fact and applications in trial proceedings versus dealing with appeals from trial courts to review the proceeding for errors of law (procedural or substantive legal efforts).
- 2. The processes these two sets of courts follow are different because of the functional differences between them
- 3. Note the differences in geographic jurisdiction between District Courts and Courts of Appeals.

Sidlow & Henschen Fig. 16-2; and Fiorina & Peterson, Fig. 15.3.

- 4. The Court's jurisdiction involves FEDERAL JURISDICTION. This derives from federal questions of law and the application and interpretation of federal statutes.
- 5. There is also an element of Diversity Jurisdiction as well (Art. III, § 2).

F. The state courts in this country are organized by state law – state Constitutional and Statutory law.

- 1. Most have Trial courts of general jurisdiction, and trial courts of limited jurisdiction.
- 2. There may or may not be a level of intermediate Appellate Courts.
- 3. Finally there is a Court of last resort, often labeled the Supreme Court.
- 4. These courts operate separately from the Federal judiciary, and present the U.S. Supreme Court with relatively little business, relating to federal questions.

### III. Judicial Processes Trial Process

- A. Judicial Processes have largely been developed using the adversary model of conflict resolution or dispute settlement.
- B. This focuses on a confrontational mode of decision.

- 1. This presumes a competitive, market-like view that the truth and the resolution of issues depend on complete contestation of factual and legal issues between the two sides.
- 2. It presumes a dichotomous dispute, with only two-sides.

- C. Cases are initiated by Plaintiffs alleging some violation of a statutory or constitutional right or some harm caused by the Defendant.
- D. The Adversary Process requires the party making the allegations to prove by some qualitative standard that their assertions are true

- 1. The jury (or the trier of fact) makes this determination.
- 2. In criminal trials the burden of proof is “beyond a reasonable doubt.”
- 3. In civil trials the burden is the “preponderance of the evidence.”

E. The end of the trial is the application of the law (statutory, constitutional, or common) to the facts found by the jury of the judge.

F. Then the appellate process can begin if the losing party at trial has some reason to argue that an error of law has been made in the trial

- 1. Errors of law can be procedural errors or substantive errors of interpretation.
- 2. Procedural errors are Due Process kinds of issues.
- 3. Substantive errors of law relate to interpreting the substantive law correctly. This is the opportunity for appellate courts to make policy by interpreting.

G. Trial Court characteristics are:

- 1. The Trial court is presided over by one judge
- 2. The jury can only find facts as presented to it as instructions and questions by the judge.
- 3. This is the only process in which witnesses and evidence is considered.
- 4. The findings of fact at the trial are final, unless there has been an error of law made in the trial.
- 5. The vast majority of cases starts and ends at the trial court level.

### Appellate Process

H. The purpose of an appeal is to correct legal errors, not to try the facts in the case.

I. The appellate court hears oral argument and receives written legal briefs dealing with the legal errors and the precedent.

1. The only materials presented on appeal are legal arguments, by the attorneys.

2. The case is heard and considered only by a panel of judges

a. The panel involves more than one judge because the appeal raises questions about the conduct on a trial judge.

b. Usually the panel is an odd number of judges, 3–judge panels are used frequently in the U.S. Courts of Appeals, there are, of course, nine justices on the Supreme Court.

J. The appellant has the burden of persuasion and the respondent defends the lower court's proceedings and interpretations.

K. The Court, after oral argument, sits and discusses their decision in the case. This is a point where bargaining and persuasion occurs among the judges.

L. There is no necessarily right or wrong answer. In some cases the result seems obvious, but in many the outcome is unclear.

M. When the appellate court has decided, it prepares a written opinion which

1. announces its decision in the case. The lower court is:

a. affirmed

b. reversed

c. affirmed in part and reversed in part

d. OR the case is vacated and remanded.

2. Explains the reasons for the decision in the case. This explanation is the case-law, which becomes precedent, guides future behavior by people.

N. Appeals come from the losing side in trials.

O. Appeals are a matter of right. That is the constitution requires that trials be free of legal error and an appeal is essential to determining and correcting legal error if it occurred.

P. Appeals and trials have been exploding in all the courts in this country over the past half-century.

1. That is due to a variety of considerations.

a. Larger and larger number s of statutes and legal issues arising from those statutes.

b. More and more lawyers who need and are willing to manufacture legal business.

c. Legal transactions and human interactions are increasing.

d. More and more complicated business, social, and political questions are presented to courts for resolution.

e. There are more and more people who are aware of their rights and also who wish to avoid responsibility for their actions and mistakes. Litigating involves an arena

1) Where rights can be expanded or expressed, and

2) Where delay can be achieved, and perhaps responsibility avoided.

2. Appeals cost money and time, as well as expertise (legal and technical).

3. Appeals require resources in the form of more courts and more judges.

Q. Appeals are generated from outside the courts. Their causes are external to the Courts although

a. Courts can signal interest in particular kinds of questions or issue through its treatment of issues in appeals. There was no signal to the NAACP to bring the case of *Brown v. Bd. of Educ.* (1954) but *Brown* was certainly a signal to future litigants concerned about racial equality and civil liberties.

b. Small groups or insular minorities, who have no chance of lobbying a legislature successfully, may be able to articulate their policy objectives and WIN in a court of law.

IV. The Supreme Court – The unique and highest court in the land.

A. The Court's appellate jurisdiction is totally discretionary. That is because:

1. The Constitution gives Congress control over the Court's appellate jurisdiction and Congress has enacted statutes, at the Court's request, to increase that discretionary choice.

2. The case has already been heard on appeal below, by some other appellate court, federal or state, before a petition for a Writ of Certiorari is sought with the Supreme Court.

B. This power to choose means the Court controls its decisional agenda.

C. The Constitution does provide a small amount of Original Jurisdiction for the Court, but this produces somewhere around 8-12 cases a years. This number is insignificant in comparison with the Filings plotted if Figure 1 of Writing Assignment #10.

D. The Court's decisional process is both unique and predictable.

E. Petitions for Certiorari arrive regularly or continually throughout the year.

1. These are screened by a rotating group (the Cert. Pool) of law clerks who summarize the case and make a recommendation.
2. Each justice then reviews these summaries and reaches their own decision about whether to grant certiorari.
3. The Rule of Four operates here, and this is an informal rule, followed by the Court in practice since before the major expansion of its discretionary jurisdiction in 1925.
4. If four justices vote to grant Cert., then the Court has decided to decide the case.

F. On the Merits, for those few cases chosen for decision, the Court schedules a due date for the Petitioner's brief on the merits, the respondent's brief on the merits, and for oral argument.

G. The only public or visible part of the Court's proceedings is oral arguments.

H. The Court operates collegially to reach all its decisions. This is called "the Conference." That is the collection of all nine justices.

1. The Court votes collectively on nearly all issues, cert. petitions, the merits, even whether the attend the annual State of the Union Address of the President.
2. Each justice is given full opportunity to discuss or persuade colleagues in all these issues or questions when they arise.
3. The Chief Justice of the United States begins the discussion in Conference, followed by the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court in descending order of seniority on the Court.
4. The deliberations are note recorded, but notes may be taken for their own purposes by individual justices if they so choose.
5. After a vote on the merits in Conference, the C.J. or the senior associate justice in the majority makes the Opinion Assignment to a member of the majority.
6. Writing the opinion and any concurring or dissenting opinions may take weeks, or months or even years in a few cases.
7. Opinion writing is done by justices, individually, in their chambers, with whatever help or assistance they seek from their Law Clerks.
8. Draft Opinions are circulated to all the other members of the Court when the writer is ready to circulate it.
9. This may result in informal discussions or written comments by colleagues in an effort to change, strengthen, modify the draft opinion before it is released.

I. The release of the Opinion of the Court is the end of the case, and the court's decision is the final one in the case. However, the Court order remands the case to the lower court for action.

1. That means the Supreme Court does not have much power to enforce its own decisions, and must rely on lower courts and the parties to the case to comply with its rulings.
2. The opinion may not be easily understood by the public, or even by some lawyers, but it is the only public record of the Court's decision and the reason(s) for that decision.

#### V. Judicial Impact and Role in American Politics

A. The Court lacks the Power of the Purse and the Power of the Sword (legislative and executive powers). That makes its ability to enforce its decisions limited.

B. Remanding cases to lower courts means those judges are important to the implementation of court (Supreme Court and other appellate court) decisions.

C. Those lower court judges, often trial judges, may or may not agree with the Supreme Court's decision, and that affects their compliance.

D. Lower court judges and lawyers are interpreting actors. These roles give them significant discretion.

1. Interpreting a Supreme Court decision gives the lower court judge latitude and choice to some degree.
2. Lawyers can always put their own emphasis, ("spin") on a court decision.

E. Litigants or actors in cases are largely called on to implement the decision by:

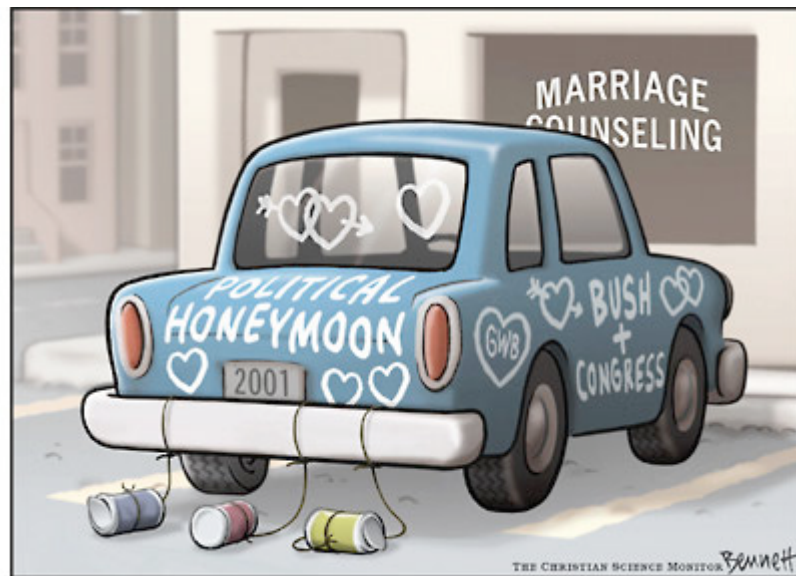
1. Complying (obeying) with the higher court's decision.
2. Interpreting and following what the higher court wanted to accomplish.
3. This may NOT be easy because parties that lose court cases tend to have to comply and they may be very recalcitrant in doing something they do not want to do.
4. These populations may be local, state, or even federal government officials.
5. The courts may have only limited contempt of court powers and these are (or can be) ineffective in gaining compliance.

F. The outer rings involve are members of the public. These groups may support or applaud the courts' decisions, or they may oppose them, giving implementers public support for non compliance.

1. These may be attentive and knowledgeable member so the public.
2. They may also be casual and unformed portions of the public.
3. These differences are likely to produce differences in the support and opposition given to court decisions by the public.

VI. The Courts have come to play a very significant role in policy making, and implementation.

- A. As more policies are enacted, there are more opportunities to interpret the laws and expand or contract their reach.
- B. More and more rights advocates are convincing courts that constitutional rights are in need of protection and expansion.
- C. This leads to increasing portions of the public considering courts to be arenas for seeking favorable policies.
- D. This leads to increasing caseloads, and more aggressive activity (interpretations and expansions in rights) by judges.
- E. We are a very rights conscious people.
- F. We are also increasingly interested in establishing fault and placing blame for harms, so lawsuits are often used for that purpose.
- G. That brings the courts directly into society and the redress of wrongs or harms.



1989

**Advanced Placement United States Government and Politics**

Section 1

Time - 45 minutes

60 Questions

Directions: Each of the questions or incomplete statements below is followed by five suggested answers or completions. Select the one that is best in each case and then fill in the corresponding oval on the answer sheet.

- Which of the following principles protects a citizen from imprisonment without trial?  
(A) Representative government (D) Checks and balances  
(B) Separation of powers (E) Popular sovereignty  
(C) Due process
- A first-term member of the House of Representatives from North Dakota who wished to maximize opportunities for constituent service would be most likely to seek placement on which of the following committees?  
(A) Judiciary (D) Foreign Affairs  
(B) Agriculture (E) Science and Technology  
(C) Rules
- In the last thirty years, the single most important variable in determining the outcome of an election for a member of the House of Representatives has been,  
(A) incumbency (D) membership in the political party of the President  
(B) personal wealth (E) positions on key social issues  
(C) previous political offices held in the district
- The power of the Rules Committee in the House of Representatives rests on its authority to  
(A) choose the chairs of other standing committees and issue rules for the selection of subcommittee chairs  
(B) initiate all spending legislation and hold budget hearings  
(C) place a bill on the legislative calendar, limit time for debate and determine the type of amendments allowed  
(D) determine the procedures by which nominations by the President will be approved by the House  
(E) choose the President if no candidate wins a majority in the electoral college
- In Marbury v. Madison (1803), the Supreme Court assumed the power to  
(A) decide whether internal congressional procedures are constitutional  
(B) advise Congress on the constitutionality of a proposed law  
(C) regulate slavery  
(D) decide on the constitutionality of a law or an executive action  
(E) approve executive agreements
- All of the following help to explain the President's difficulty in controlling cabinet-level agencies EXCEPT.  
(A) Agencies often have political support from interest groups.  
(B) Agency staff often have information and technical expertise that the President and presidential advisers lack.  
(C) The President can only fire appointees before they have been confirmed by the Senate.  
(D) Civil servants who remain in their jobs through changes of administration develop loyalties to their agencies.  
(E) Congress is a competitor for influence over the bureaucracy

7. The activities of the Federal Reserve Board have the most direct influence on
- (A) bank interest rates
  - (B) government spending
  - (C) oil prices
  - (D) troop-strength levels of the armed services
  - (E) availability of scarce minerals
8. Which of the following statements most accurately compares elections in the United States with those in most other Western democracies?
- (A) United States citizens have fewer opportunities to vote in elections.
  - (B) Political parties exert a stronger influence over voting in the United States.
  - (C) There are fewer obstacles to voting in the United States.
  - (D) There are more political parties in the United States.
  - (E) The voter turnout rate in the United States is usually lower.
9. Which of the following activities of American labor unions is recognized by law?
- (A) Engaging in strikes
  - (B) Denying the public access to a business
  - (C) Refusing a subpoena to appear before an investigative committee of Congress
  - (D) Disobeying a court injunction to return to work
  - (E) Requiring members to make political contributions
10. Which of the following best describes the relationship, between socioeconomic status and participation in politics?
- (A) The lower one's socioeconomic status, the more likely it is that one will run for public office.
  - (B) The higher ones socioeconomic status, the greater the probability of active involvement in the political process.
  - (C) Adults who are unemployed have a greater personal interest in policy and tend to participate more actively in politics than do employed adults.
  - (D) People in the lower middle class are the most likely to participate in politics.
  - (E) There is no relationship between socioeconomic status and political participation.

**Student Party Identification by Parent  
Party Identification**

<u>Student Party I.D.</u>	<u>Parent Party Identification</u>		
	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	<u>Republican</u>
Democrat	66%	29%	13%
Independent	27%	53%	36%
Republican	7%	18%	51%

11. According to the information in the table above, which of the following statements is correct?
- (A) Students who identify themselves as independents are most likely to have parents who are Republicans.
  - (B) Of the three groups of parents, the Democrats are the most likely to pass on their party identification to their children.
  - (C) Students who identify with the Democratic party are more likely to have parents who are Republicans than parents who are independents.
  - (D) The children of Republicans are less likely to identify as independents than are the children of Democrats.
  - (E) Parents who are independents are the least likely to have children who share their party identification.

12. Suppose that in 1980 “strong” Democrats who shared Ronald Reagan's views on taxation and Republican women who opposed their party's plank on the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) both turned out to vote at unexpectedly low rates.

These findings would provide evidence for which of the following hypotheses?

- (A) Anything that produces cross-pressure reduces turnout.
  - (B) Strong party identification promotes participation.
  - (C) "Rational" voters need a sense of civic duty to motivate them to vote.
  - (D) Those who express satisfaction with candidate choices are less likely to vote.
  - (E) Those who are party activists are not likely to vote.
13. Which of the following were LEAST likely to have been part of the New Deal electoral coalition?
- (A) Blue-collar workers
  - (B) Racial minorities
  - (C) Southerners
  - (D) Northern business leaders
  - (E) Farm laborers
14. The federal Constitution guarantees all of the following rights to a person arrested and charged with a serious crime EXCEPT the right to
- (A) remain silent
  - (B) be represented by a lawyer
  - (C) negotiate a plea bargain
  - (D) demand a writ of habeas corpus
  - (E) receive a speedy and public trial

15. “The Constitution limits the size of the District of Columbia to \_\_\_\_\_”  
-State of Alabama literacy test, 1936

The question above and the literacy test from which it came were most likely designed to

- (A) determine the literacy of potential voters
- (B) prevent Black people from exercising their right to vote
- (C) assess the general population's understanding of the Constitution
- (D) promote opposition to statehood for the District of Columbia
- (E) stop people from moving to the District of Columbia

Questions 16-17 refer to the following excerpt from a United States Supreme Court decision.

We are unanimously of opinion, that the law passed by the legislature of Maryland, imposing a tax on the Bank of the United States, is unconstitutional and void. . . . This is a tax on the operation of an instrument employed by the government of the Union to carry its powers into execution. Such a tax must be unconstitutional....

16. This decision of the Supreme Court upheld the principle that
- (A) the federal government and the state governments are equal
  - (B) Congress has only those powers specifically enumerated in the Constitution
  - (C) Congress has the power to make laws to carry out its constitutional duties
  - (D) taxation without representation is unconstitutional
  - (E) the federal government alone may levy taxes
17. Which of the following resulted from this Supreme Court decision?
- (A) The power of the national government was strengthened.
  - (B) The power of the Supreme Court was weakened.
  - (C) The power of state governments to tax individual citizens was clearly limited.
  - (D) Congress was given the power to coin money.
  - (E) Congress alone was given the power to charter banks.

18. The details of legislation are usually worked out in which of the following settings?
- (A) A party caucus
  - (B) The majority leader's office
  - (C) The floor of the House
  - (D) Legislative hearings
  - (E) A subcommittee
19. Which of the following is responsible for the preparation of executive spending proposals submitted to Congress?
- (A) Treasury Department
  - (B) Council of Economic Advisors
  - (C) Federal Trade Commission
  - (D) Department of Commerce
  - (E) Office of Management and Budget
20. In United States v. Nixon (1974) the Supreme Court ruled that
- (A) the judicial branch should not intervene in political disputes between the President and Congress
  - (B) presidential power is not automatically extended during times of national emergency
  - (C) Presidents must account to the Court for the way in which they implement policy
  - (D) there is no constitutional guarantee of unqualified executive privilege
  - (E) the President does not have the power of an item veto over congressional legislation
21. "Pork barrel" legislation helps the reelection chances of a member of Congress because such legislation
- (A) gives the member of Congress national standing and coverage on national television news
  - (B) helps earn the member of Congress a reputation for service to his or her district
  - (C) attracts campaign contributions from ideological political action committees (PACs)
  - (D) prevents other candidates from claiming that the member of Congress is too liberal for his or her district
  - (E) requires the member of Congress to travel extensively
22. Which of the following statements reflects a pluralist theory of American politics?
- (A) American politics is dominated by a small elite.
  - (B) Public policies emerge from cooperation among elites in business labor, and government.
  - (C) Public policies emerge from compromises reached among competing groups
  - (D) American politics is dominated by cities at the expense of rural areas
  - (E) The American political arena is made up of isolated individuals who have few group affiliations outside the family.
23. All of the following are formal or informal sources of presidential power EXCEPT
- (A) presidential authority to raise revenue
  - (B) presidential access to the media
  - (C) precedents set during previous administrations
  - (D) public support
  - (E) the Constitution
24. An advantage that bureaucrats in federal government have over the President in the policymaking process is that bureaucrats
- (A) control the budgetary process
  - (B) have an independence from the President that is guaranteed by the Constitution
  - (C) find it easier to marshal public support than does the President
  - (D) usually have a continuity of service in the executive branch that the President lacks
  - (E) have better access to the media than does the President



25. Which of the following is the best predictor of the Department of Education's annual budget?
- (A) The preferences of the Chair of the Senate Finance Committee
  - (B) The budget recommendations of the National Education Association
  - (C) The rate of increase of teachers' salaries
  - (D) The number of children entering kindergarten
  - (E) The size of the previous year's budget
26. Which of the following groups would be LEAST likely to maintain a national lobbying organization in Washington, D.C. ?
- (A) Environmentalists
  - (B) Public housing tenants
  - (C) Nurses
  - (D) Automobile manufacturers
  - (E) Automobile assembly-line workers
27. Which of the following would result from the direct election of presidential candidates?
- (A) A national primary would be established.
  - (B) Party nominating conventions would be abolished.
  - (C) Each vote would count equally in determining which candidate won the election.
  - (D) The electoral college would become more influential in the electoral process.
  - (E) Third-party candidates would have less chance of winning the election.
28. Since 1960 the presidential election process has been affected by an increase in all of the following EXCEPT the
- (A) proportion of independents in the electorate
  - (B) influence of political consultants
  - (C) number of primaries
  - (D) turnout of voters
  - (E) role of television
29. Between 1964 and 1984, which of the following would have been most likely to vote for the Democratic presidential candidate?
- (A) A Cuban-American business executive from Miami
  - (B) A Black teacher from Los Angeles
  - (C) A White doctor from Atlanta
  - (D) A Polish-American truck driver from Phoenix
  - (E) A Methodist farmer from Iowa

<b>Defendant</b>	<b>Location</b>
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Specific Warning Regarding Interrogations

1. You have the right to remain silent.
2. Anything you say can and will be used against you in a court of law.
3. You have the right to talk to a lawyer and have him present with you while you are being questioned.
4. If you cannot afford to hire a lawyer one will be appointed to represent you before any questioning if you wish one.

Signature of Defendant	Date
Witness	Time

30. The card shown above was issued as a consequence of which of the following Supreme Court decisions?
- (A) Gitlow v. New York (D) Gideon v. Wainwright  
 (B) Munn v. Illinois (E) Miranda v. Arizona  
 (C) Regents of University of California v. Bakke
31. "Voting is partly a matter of habit: the more frequently a person has voted in the past, the more likely she or he is to vote in the current election."
- All of the following support the observation above EXCEPT:
- (A) Immediately after the Twenty-Sixth Amendment in 1971 gave 18-to-21 year olds the vote, the proportion of eligible voters who actually voted declined.  
 (B) Immediately after the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920 gave women the vote, the proportion of eligible voters who actually voted declined.  
 (C) Immediately after the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the participation rate of Black voters in the South was lower than that of White voters in the South.  
 (D) Unmarried persons over the age of 65 are less likely to vote than are married persons in that age group  
 (E) Newly naturalized citizens may need special inducements to vote.
32. All of the following statements reflect positions the Supreme Court has taken with regard to the right of free speech EXCEPT:
- (A) A restriction on the right of free speech should always be viewed with skepticism.  
 (B) There are no acceptable governmental restrictions on free speech.  
 (C) Government has an obligation to try to ensure citizens the right to be heard.  
 (D) The right to free speech is a fundamental natural right  
 (E) The First Amendment protects free speech from incursions of both the federal and state governments
33. In the Constitution as originally ratified in 1788, the provisions regarding which of the following most closely approximate popular, majoritarian democracy?
- (A) Election of members of the House of Representatives  
 (B) Election of members of the Senate  
 (C) Election of the President  
 (D) Ratification of treaties  
 (E) Confirmation of presidential appointments
34. Most of the bills introduced in the House and the Senate are then
- (A) passed by one chamber but not the other  
 (B) passed by both chambers but vetoed by the President  
 (C) referred to committee but never sent to the full Congress  
 (D) voted down during the amendment stage of the floor debate  
 (E) killed in the Rules Committee
35. Which of the following best defines the term "judicial activism"?
- (A) The demands on judges to hear large numbers of cases  
 (B) The efforts of judges to lobby Congress for funds  
 (C) The attempts by judges to influence election outcomes  
 (D) The unwillingness of judges to remove themselves from cases in which they have a personal interest  
 (E) The tendency of judges to interpret the Constitution according to their own views

36. A President may persuade recalcitrant members of Congress to vote for a particular bill by
- (A) having members who oppose the bill transferred to unpopular committees
  - (B) denying campaign funds to members who oppose the bill
  - (C) threatening to deny renomination to members who oppose the bill
  - (D) threatening to item veto part of a different bill that enjoys bipartisan support in Congress
  - (E) making a direct appeal to the public through the mass media
37. In general, independent regulatory commissions are created primarily for the purpose of
- (A) supporting and helping cabinet-level departments
  - (B) proposing policy alternatives during periods of crisis
  - (C) regulating the activities of other bureaucratic agencies to ensure that they act in a fair and objective manner
  - (D) regulating certain industries to protect the public interest
  - (E) increasing the President's patronage powers
38. The President's veto power is accurately described by which of the following statements?
- I. A President sometimes threatens to veto a bill that is under discussion in order to influence congressional decision-making.
  - II. A President typically vetoes about a third of the bills passed by Congress.
  - III. Congress is usually unable to override a President's veto.
- (A) I only
  - (B) III only
  - (C) I and III only
  - (D) II and III only
  - (E) I, II, and III
39. The subject of the cartoon above (?) that is no longer a part of the American political system is the
- (A) role of state legislatures in electing United States senators
  - (B) role of money in influencing the outcome of an election
  - (C) election of millionaires to the Senate
  - (D) high cost of running for the Senate
  - (E) role of special interests in campaigns for state legislatures
40. Which of the following has decreased in Congress over the past twenty years?
- (A) The chances of members' reelection
  - (B) The influence of committee chairs
  - (C) The power of subcommittees
  - (D) The total number of congressional staff employees
  - (E) The cost of congressional elections
41. Invocation of the War Powers Act of 1973 would be most important in determining which of the following?
- (A) The nature of the commitment of United States Marines to a peacekeeping role in Lebanon
  - (B) The amount of financial aid to the Contras of Nicaragua
  - (C) The timing of naval maneuvers off the coast of Libya
  - (D) The appointment of the Joint Chiefs of Staff
  - (E) The legality of extraditing foreign agents responsible for acts of terrorism against United States citizens abroad

42. American political culture is characterized by strong popular support for all of the following EXCEPT
- (A) the rule of law
  - (B) limited government
  - (C) individual liberty
  - (D) equality of opportunity
  - (E) economic equality
43. All of the following are commonly used by interest groups to influence the political process EXCEPT
- (A) lobbying
  - (B) contributing money to candidates
  - (C) nominating candidates
  - (D) filing lawsuits
  - (E) appealing to public opinion

Questions 44-45 are based on the following excerpt from a major Supreme Court decision.

Such considerations apply with added force to children in grade and high schools. To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone....

... We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs ... are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.

44. The doctrine of "separate but equal" referred to above had previously been upheld by which of the following Supreme Court decisions?
- (A) Dred Scott v. Sanford, 1857
  - (B) Plessy v. Ferguson, 1896
  - (C) Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company v. Sawyer, 1952
  - (D) Engel v. Vitale, 1962
  - (E) Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg County Board of Education, 1971
45. The Supreme Court decision quoted above did which of the following?
- (A) Brought a rapid end to school segregation in the South.
  - (B) Prohibited segregation in hotels and restaurants.
  - (C) Required desegregation of teaching staff.
  - (D) Initially affected only schools where segregation was mandated by law.
  - (E) Affected segregation in the North rather than in the South.
46. Which of the following best defines the constitutional interpretation of federalism?
- (A) The federal government and the states each have separate and mutually exclusive roles and responsibilities; neither controls the other.
  - (B) The states have some powers reserved to them which they may exercise if the Supreme Court permits.
  - (C) The federal government and the states have separate but overlapping powers; where these powers conflict the federal government prevails.
  - (D) The states may only exercise those powers delegated to them by Congress.
  - (E) The federal government may exercise only those powers specifically enumerated in the Constitution.

47. All of the following issues were decided at the Constitutional Convention EXCEPT
- (A) representation in the legislature
  - (B) voting qualifications of the electorate
  - (C) method of electing the President
  - (D) congressional power to override a presidential veto
  - (E) qualifications for members of the House and Senate
48. The usefulness to the President of having cabinet members as political advisers is undermined by the fact that
- (A) the President has little latitude in choosing cabinet members
  - (B) cabinet members have no political support independent of the President
  - (C) cabinet members are usually drawn from Congress and retain loyalties to Congress
  - (D) the loyalties of cabinet members are often divided between loyalty to the President and loyalty to their own executive departments
  - (E) the cabinet operates as a collective unit and individual members have no access to the President

**Five Members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee**

<u>Senator</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Total Years in Senate</u>	<u>Years of Continuous Service on Foreign Relation</u>
A	Republican	10	10
B	Republican	14	8
C	Democrat	16	16
D	Democrat	20	14
E	Independent	22	18

49. Assume a two-member Republican majority in the United States Senate and a Democratic presidential administration. Which of the senators listed on the chart above would fill a vacancy for chair of the Foreign Relations Committee under the normal working of the seniority system?
- (A) Senator A
  - (B) Senator B
  - (C) Senator C
  - (D) Senator D
  - (E) Senator E
50. Cabinet departments differ from independent regulatory agencies in which of the following ways?
- (A) The President can use an executive order to create a cabinet department but not to create an independent regulatory agency.
  - (B) The President can dismiss cabinet officers, but not commissioners of independent regulatory agencies
  - (C) The President seeks appointees who reflect administration views in making cabinet appointments but not in making appointments to independent regulatory agencies
  - (D) Through the appropriations process, Congress can exert control over the cabinet departments but not over independent regulatory agencies
  - (E) The courts can overrule regulations issued by cabinet departments, but not those issued by independent regulatory agencies

51. Which of the following techniques would a corporate lobbyist be likely to use to influence political outcomes in Congress?.
- I. Organizing a demonstration in Washington just before a key House vote
  - II. Ensuring that the corporation's political action committee (PAC) makes donations to the campaigns of members of key committees
  - III. Meeting informally with Senate aides over lunch or cocktails
  - IV. Bringing influential constituents to Washington to discuss important policy matters with their representatives
- (A) II only
  - (B) I and II only
  - (C) III and IV only
  - (D) I, III, and IV only
  - (E) II, III, and IV only
52. Congress has exerted the greatest influence on the operation of a federal agency by doing which of the following?
- (A) Requiring the agency to participate in interagency task forces
  - (B) Dismissing an agency head who disagrees with congressional priorities
  - (C) Reviewing the annual budget appropriations for the agency
  - (D) Passing "sunset" legislation that terminates programs after a certain period
  - (E) Asking the Supreme Court for advisory opinions on agency regulations
53. Which of the following best describes the relationship between the Supreme Court and public opinion?
- (A) The Court assesses public opinion on a controversial issue and then tries to follow it.
  - (B) Court prestige is so high that its decisions become public consensus.
  - (C) The existence of a public consensus on an issue limits the extent to which the Court will render decisions contrary to that consensus.
  - (D) Public opinion has no bearing on the effective implementation of the Court's decisions.
  - (E) There is no relationship between public opinion and the Court's decisions.
54. Which of the following is an accurate statement about political participation in the United States today?
- (A) A majority of Americans campaign for a candidate in each presidential election.
  - (B) Over 75% of Americans vote in presidential elections.
  - (C) People who participate in the political process are usually angry at government.
  - (D) Similar proportions of eligible men and women vote in presidential elections.
  - (E) People in their thirties or forties are less likely to be active in politics than are those aged 18 to 21.
55. During the past twenty-five years, all of the following changes in public opinion and political behavior have occurred in the United States EXCEPT
- (A) a decline in party competition in the South
  - (B) a decline in the level of trust in government
  - (C) a drop in voter turnout
  - (D) an increase in ticket-splitting
  - (E) an erosion of party loyalties, especially among young people

56. The amendments to the Constitution that were ratified during Reconstruction were primarily designed to
- (A) protect the rights of women against infringement by the federal government
  - (B) protect the rights of Black citizens against infringement by state governments
  - (C) ensure equal economic opportunity for Black citizens
  - (D) facilitate the rebuilding of the Southern economy
  - (E) limit the power the President had gained during the Civil War
57. Which of the following statements best describes the Supreme Court's actions with respect to disputes between Congress and the President?
- (A) The Court has steadily favored the expansion of presidential power at the expense of Congress
  - (B) The Court has refused to allow Congress to subpoena officials from the executive branch.
  - (C) The Court generally has tried to avoid deciding conflicts between Congress and the President.
  - (D) The Court has supported congressional limits on the President's powers as commander-in-chief.
  - (E) The Court has supported congressional use of the legislative veto as a means of controlling the President.
58. Which of the following statements about political action committees (PACs) is true?
- (A) PACs may give unlimited contributions to the election campaigns of individual candidates.
  - (B) PAC spending has not kept pace with inflation.
  - (C) PAC activity is limited to direct contributions to candidates.
  - (D) Social issue groups are the source of most PAC dollars.
  - (E) PAC spending makes up a higher percentage of congressional campaign funds than of presidential campaign funds.
59. Which of the following Supreme Court cases involved the principle of "one person, one vote"?
- (A) Baker v. Carr
  - (B) Roe v. Wade
  - (C) Mapp V. Ohio
  - (D) Korematsu v. United States
  - (E) Gideon v. Wainwright
60. Debate of a bill in the House of Representatives under a "closed rule" means that
- (A) the bill can only be amended by section
  - (B) debate on the bill will consist of five-minute speeches, pro and con
  - (C) only senior members are allowed to participate
  - (D) amendments to the bill cannot be offered
  - (E) the bill must be approved by two-thirds of the House

End of Section 1

If you finish before time is called, you may check your work on this section only.  
Do not turn to any other section in the test.

**Answer Key and Percent Answering Correctly**  
**1989 AP United States Government and Politics Examination**

1.	C	98%	31.	D	69%
2.	B	57%	32.	B	70%
3.	A	79%	33.	A	66%
4.	C	74%	34.	C	60%
5.	D	86%	35.	E	79%
6.	C	59%	36.	E	63%
7.	A	71%	37.	D	55%
8.	E	73%	38.	C	45%
9.	A	88%	39.	A	51%
10.	B	90%	40.	B	42%
11.	B	90%	41.	A	56%
12.	A	70%	42.	E	66%
13.	D	64%	43.	C	53%
14.	C	80%	44.	B	79%
15.	B	82%	45.	D	66%
16.	C	51%	46.	C	64%
17.	A	85%	47.	B	58%
18.	E	80%	48.	D	71%
19.	E	80%	49.	A	18%
20.	D	71%	50.	B	41%
21.	B	64%	51.	E	65%
22.	C	53%	52.	C	68%
23.	A	75%	53.	C	42%
24.	D	61%	54.	D	64%
25.	E	57%	55.	A	53%
26.	B	53%	56.	B	66%
27.	C	67%	57.	C	49%
28.	D	54%	58.	E	51%
29.	B	70%	59.	A	48%
30.	E	88%	60.	D	64%



**UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS**

1994 EXAM

Section I

Time 45 minutes

60 Questions

Directions: Each of the questions or incomplete statements below is followed by five suggested answers or completions. Select the one that is best in each case.

1. The framers of the Constitution all believed that one of the primary functions of government is
  - A. educating citizens
  - B. protecting individual property rights
  - C. protecting new immigrants from persecution
  - D. expanding the borders of the nation
  - E. ensuring that anyone accused of a crime has the right to legal representation
  
2. In *The Federalist* papers, James Madison expressed the view that political factions
  - A. should be nurtured by a free nation
  - B. should play a minor role in any free nation
  - C. are central to the creation of a free nation
  - D. are undesirable but inevitable in a free nation
  - E. are necessary to control the masses in a free nation
  
3. Agreement among four justices on the Supreme Court is always sufficient to
  - A. decide the outcome of the case
  - B. write a majority opinion
  - C. set a precedent
  - D. overturn a lower court's opinion
  - E. accept a case for consideration
  
4. Which of the following is true of nominees for federal judgeships?
  - A. They are recruited from the current pool of United States attorneys.
  - B. They are nominated by the Senate and approved by the House of Representatives.
  - C. They are elected in popular elections in individual states.
  - D. They must receive the approval of the American Bar Association upon nomination.
  - E. They are appointed for life by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate.
  
5. In selecting members of the White House staff, Presidents primarily seek people who
  - A. give the White House ideological balance
  - B. are personally loyal to the President
  - C. have extensive governmental experience
  - D. will help the President develop a good working relationship with Congress
  - E. can bring a nonpartisan perspective to policy deliberations
  
6. [Note: Cartoon has been removed.] The author of the cartoon below would most likely agree with which of the following?
  - A. Only the exclusionary rule can protect the rights of those accused of violating the law.
  - B. The exclusionary rule has been detrimental to the maintenance of law and order.
  - C. Plea bargaining is an effective means of reducing court backlogs.
  - D. The Warren Court advocated social order at the expense of civil liberties.
  - E. The Rehnquist Court has been too lenient toward criminals.

7. All of the following statements pertaining to the presidential veto are true EXCEPT:
- Congress overrides fewer than ten percent of presidential vetoes.
  - A vetoed bill is often revised and passed in another form.
  - Presidents often threaten to veto bills to increase their leverage with Congress.
  - A President may veto part of a bill.
  - Congress often places provisions the President wants into a bill the President dislikes to make a veto less likely.
8. Which of the following is a correct statement about political action committees (PAC's)?
- The number of PAC's has remained stable over the past decade.
  - Most PAC money is distributed to challengers in an effort to unseat hostile incumbents.
  - The amount of money that PAC's can contribute directly to an individual candidate is limited by law.
  - PAC's are illegal in most states.
  - PAC's rarely attempt to influence legislation through lobbying activities.
9. A "cloture motion" passed in the Senate does which of the following?
- Returns a bill to committee.
  - Cuts off debate on a bill.
  - Criticizes a senator guilty of improprieties.
  - Removes a President who has been impeached by the House.
  - Brings a bill directly to a vote without formal committee approval.
10. The use of direct primaries instead of the convention system in selecting presidential candidates results in which of the following?
- A weakening of party control over nominations
  - A reduction in the costs of election campaigns
  - An increase in the number of people involved in the choice of candidates
  - An increase in voter turnout in midterm elections
- I and III only
  - II and IV only
  - III and IV only
  - I, II, and III only
  - I, II, III, and IV
11. Which of the following factors best accounts for the rise of interest groups and the decline of political parties in recent years?
- National parties have become too closely identified with controversial issues.
  - Court decisions have restricted the political parties' abilities to recruit new members.
  - It is less expensive to join an interest group than to join a political party.
  - Interest groups have been more successful in avoiding negative press coverage than have political parties.
  - Interest groups are better able to articulate specific policy positions than are political parties.
12. Which of the following best characterizes the influence of the news media on public opinion in the United States?
- They alter the public's views on issues.
  - They affect which issues the public thinks are important.
  - They determine how citizens will vote.
  - They are most able to influence people with the highest level of education.
  - They are most able to influence the urban sectors of society.

13. Of the following, which group voted most heavily Democratic in presidential elections between 1964 and 1992?
- A. Mexican Americans
  - B. Chinese Americans
  - C. Jewish Americans
  - D. Black Americans
  - E. Roman Catholic Americans

14. To enforce the Fourteenth Amendment more clearly, Congress passed the
- A. Civil Rights Act of 1964
  - B. Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act
  - C. Social Security Act
  - D. Twenty-sixth Amendment
  - E. War Powers Resolution

15. In the United States, most criminal cases end in
- A. a plea bargain negotiated by the defense and prosecution
  - B. an appeal to the United States Court of Appeals
  - C. an appeal to a state court of appeals
  - D. a trial by judge
  - E. a trial by jury

**Questions 16-17** refer to the following clause from the Constitution.

“The Congress shall have power...to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.”

16. Interpretations of this clause have been central to attempts to define the nature of which of the following aspects of the United States political system?
- A. Republicanism
  - B. Pluralism
  - C. Due process of law
  - D. Federalism
  - E. Judicial review
17. The practical effect of this clause has been to
- A. make the legislature the most powerful branch of the national government
  - B. allow the national government to extend its powers beyond those enumerated in the Constitution
  - C. allow state governments to nullify federal laws within their borders
  - D. give the President uncontested powers in the area of foreign policy
  - E. ensure that any powers not delegated by the Constitution to the United States government are reserved to the states and the people
18. Those who believe that the Supreme Court in its rulings should defer to the elective institutions of government are advocating
- A. "Social Darwinism"
  - B. "judicial activism"
  - C. "judicial restraint"
  - D. "incorporation"
  - E. "nullification"
19. In general, Congress is most likely to defer to the President
- A. in the area of foreign policy
  - B. in the area of fiscal policy
  - C. in the area of social policy
  - D. late in the President's term
  - E. when the economy is strong

20. In trying to influence legislation, the President is generally more successful than congressional leaders in
- A. using the legislative schedule to political advantage
  - B. enforcing party discipline
  - C. satisfying interest group demands for access to the policy process
  - D. effectively using formal parliamentary powers rather than persuasion
  - E. using the media to set the policy agenda
21. Supporters of granting the President a line-item veto would most likely argue that this power would increase a President's ability to
- A. work effectively with the cabinet
  - B. negotiate understandings with foreign heads of government
  - C. control federal spending
  - D. avoid costly disputes with the judiciary
  - E. provide effectively for national defense
22. Which of the following is true of an executive agreement made between a United States President and another head of state?
- A. It does not require Senate approval, but may require congressional allocation of funds for implementation.
  - B. It does not require congressional funding because the President can use the power of the purse to raise implementation funds.
  - C. It has more legal force than a treaty.
  - D. It is binding on all succeeding Presidents and Congresses.
  - E. It has been used extensively to end armed conflicts.
23. Over the past 20 years, reforms of the presidential nomination process have had which of the following effects?
- A. The nomination process in both parties has become less democratic and open.
  - B. The number of Black delegates at Republican national conventions has grown substantially.
  - C. The number of candidates willing and able to seek the nomination has decreased dramatically.
  - D. The number of female delegates and minority-group delegates at Democratic national conventions has grown substantially.
  - E. State and local party organizations have increased their control over the process.
24. All of the following are reasons incumbents in the House of Representatives enjoy an electoral advantage over challengers EXCEPT that incumbents
- A. get substantial financial support from their party's national committee
  - B. are better known to voters than are challengers
  - C. find it much easier to raise campaign funds than do challengers
  - D. can use staff members to do constituent service
  - E. often serve on committees that enable them to help the constituency
25. The Office of Management and Budget has the primary responsibility for doing which of the following?
- A. Implementing federal unemployment policy
  - B. Preparing the budget
  - C. Auditing the budget
  - D. Appropriating funds for the budget
  - E. Approving the budget

26. The boundary lines of congressional districts are drawn by
- A. the United States House of Representatives
  - B. the United States Senate
  - C. United States district courts
  - D. state governors
  - E. state legislatures
27. The most common form of political activity undertaken by United States citizens is
- A. lobbying to influence decisions by public officials
  - B. campaigning for candidates for office
  - C. contributing money to a political party
  - D. voting in local elections
  - E. voting in presidential elections
28. The graph above supports which of the following statements about partisanship?
- A. The higher people's incomes, the less likely they are to be Republicans.
  - B. At all income levels, people are divided about equally between the Democratic and Republican parties.
  - C. Only in the highest income group are people more likely to be Republicans than Democrats.
  - D. As income level increases, people are less likely to identify with either political party.
  - E. Income level accurately reflects presidential election voting patterns over the past twenty years.
29. Which of the following statements best describes how United States citizens regard the rights of free speech and assembly?
- A. A majority agrees in principle with these rights, but in practice many people are often intolerant of views they do not support.
  - B. A majority actively supports these rights without any reservations.
  - C. A majority opposes these rights in principle.
  - D. The average citizen is more supportive of these rights than are members of the elite.
  - E. Conservatives have traditionally been more supportive of these rights than have liberals.
30. The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution has been interpreted by the Supreme Court to
- A. expand presidential power
  - B. restrict the application of judicial review
  - C. make most rights contained in the Bill of Rights applicable to the states
  - D. prevent states from taxing agencies of the federal government
  - E. limit the use of the legislative veto
31. The legislative process at the national level reflects the intent of the framers of the Constitution to create a legislature that would
- A. be less powerful than the executive
  - B. be cautious and deliberate
  - C. involve as many citizens as possible
  - D. ensure that all groups be equally represented
  - E. allow majorities virtually unlimited control over policy
32. All of the following are consequences of the federal system in the United States EXCEPT
- A. inequality in government services across subnational entities
  - B. opportunities for experimentation in government programs
  - C. multiple points of access for interest groups
  - D. decentralization of political conflict
  - E. a strict division of power among levels of government

33. Which of the following is true about divided party control of the presidency and Congress?
- A. It is a natural occurrence due to the constitutional system of checks and balances.
  - B. It rarely occurs in United States elections, because of straight-ticket voting.
  - C. It promotes quick action by the President and Congress on such issues as the federal budget.
  - D. It reflects a frequent election pattern over the past three decades.
  - E. It results from the reapportionment of House seats after the decennial census.
34. The Freedom of Information Act was designed primarily to give
- A. Congress access to information from citizens
  - B. police access to information from criminal suspects
  - C. the courts access to information from reporters
  - D. citizens access to information from the executive branch
  - E. Congress access to information from the executive branch
35. Which of the following is true of the electoral college system?
- A. It encourages the emergence of third parties.
  - B. It encourages candidates to concentrate their campaigns in competitive, populous states.
  - C. It ensures that the votes of all citizens count equally in selecting the President.
  - D. It requires that a candidate win a minimum of 26 states to obtain a majority in the college.
  - E. It tends to make presidential elections appear closer than they really are.
36. The congressional system of standing committees is significant because it
- A. fosters the development of expertise by members
  - B. helps Congress reduce staff costs
  - C. insulates decision-making from the influence of special interests
  - D. weakens Congress in its dealings with the President
  - E. prevents Congress from effectively processing its large legislative workload
37. Elections for the House of Representatives provide
- A. approximately equal representation for every voter
  - B. an equal chance of getting elected for both incumbents and challengers
  - C. a system in which only those candidates who receive a majority of the votes cast win on the first ballot
  - D. proportional representation based on the percentage of votes cast for each party
  - E. proportional representation of racial and ethnic minorities
38. In contrast to revenue sharing, categorical grants-in-aid provide state and local governments with
- A. substantial discretion in deciding how to use the grants to solve their problems
  - B. aid that reflects tax base and population
  - C. the power to impose regressive taxes
  - D. funds sufficient to support a high level of local service
  - E. funds to administer programs clearly specified by the federal government
39. Which of the following is empowered to create new federal courts and specify the number of judges who will sit on them?
- A. The Supreme Court
  - B. Congress
  - C. The President
  - D. The Department of Justice
  - E. The attorney general

40. The War Powers Resolution (1973) was designed to
- A. allow the Joint Chiefs of Staff to advise the President during periods of conflict
  - B. allow Congress to suspend certain civil liberties during times of war
  - C. require a congressional declaration of war before allowing military forces to be used overseas
  - D. assure congressional involvement in decisions committing military forces in hostile situations overseas
  - E. ensure funding for military operations lasting more than 60 days
41. The primary reason for the current existence of only two major political parties in the United States is that
- A. the Constitution puts severe restrictions on other parties
  - B. third parties are usually far to the right or left, and Americans are moderates
  - C. a winner-take-all electoral system makes it difficult for new parties to emerge and survive
  - D. voters naturally think of themselves as either liberals or conservatives
  - E. presidential electors can vote for only two candidates
42. An interest group would likely have the greatest influence on policy matters involving
- A. narrow issues, only a few interest groups, and technical information
  - B. broad, highly visible national issues
  - C. broad foreign policy issues
  - D. major constitutional questions about civil rights and liberties
  - E. areas in which members of Congress have considerable expertise and commitment
43. Which of the following has the most influence on the outcome of a congressional election?
- A. Local performance of a candidate's party in the presidential race
  - B. A candidate's incumbency status
  - C. The amount of a candidate's campaign spending relative to that of his or her opponent
  - D. The level of support from local party leaders
  - E. The level of voter turnout
44. Which of the following is an accurate statement about the voter turnout rate in the United States?
- A. It is high because of the large numbers of elective offices.
  - B. It is significantly higher among men than among women.
  - C. It is lower than in most other Western democracies.
  - D. It increased sharply when eighteen year olds were given the right to vote.
  - E. It has been steady over the last 30 years.
45. Which of the following is an accurate statement that could be used to refute the argument that a realignment took place in the 1980's?
- A. Although the Republicans had success in national elections, they did not attract members of traditionally Democratic groups.
  - B. Republican identifiers were less likely to vote their partisanship than were Democratic identifiers.
  - C. The Republicans had been the dominant party since the late 1960's.
  - D. The decline in voter turnout slowed steadily.
  - E. Republican dominance in presidential elections did not extend to congressional, state, and local elections.

46. Compared to voters in a general election, voters in presidential primary elections are
- less likely to be members of political parties
  - less likely to be well educated
  - likely to be a larger percentage of the voting-age population
  - more likely to be members of ethnic or racial minority groups
  - more likely to be affluent
47. Which of the following was an argument used by the Supreme Court in upholding federal statutes outlawing segregation in public accommodations?
- Such segregation affected interstate commerce, and Congress therefore had the authority to outlaw it.
  - Such segregation was wrong in principle, and Congress had moral authority to outlaw it even though the statutes lacked a strict constitutional basis.
  - Such segregation violated the First Amendment's protection of the right to free assembly, and Congress therefore had the authority to outlaw it.
  - Such segregation violated the Tenth Amendment's reservation of power to state governments, and Congress therefore had the authority to outlaw it.
  - Since such segregation affected citizens of different states, it fell under the original jurisdiction of the federal courts and could therefore be outlawed by Congress.
48. The clear-and-present-danger test devised by the Supreme Court was designed to define the conditions under which public authorities could
- ban obscene materials
  - suspend habeas corpus protections
  - mobilize the National Guard
  - limit free speech
  - commit troops to situations of potential foreign combat
49. As originally ratified, the United States Constitution included provisions designed to
- limit the importation of foreign manufactured goods
  - increase the economic importance of the agrarian sector relative to that of the manufacturing sector
  - increase the economic powers of the central government
  - expand the states' powers to regulate their own commerce with foreign countries
  - guarantee the states a greater role in economic policy-making
50. Which of the following accurately characterizes the main difference between elite theories and pluralist theories of politics in the United States?
- Elite theories concentrate on the role of interest groups; pluralist theories emphasize the role of individuals.
  - Elite theories argue that a single minority dominates politics in all policy areas; pluralist theories argue that many minorities compete for power in different policy areas.
  - Elite theories argue that social status is the major source of political power; pluralist theories argue that wealth is the major source.
  - Elite theories emphasize the multiple access points that interest groups have to public officials; pluralist theories stress the limits in the number and effectiveness of such access points.
  - Elite theories view government as efficient; pluralist theories view it as slow and wasteful.
51. A committee chair in the House of Representatives is always
- the member with the longest service on the committee
  - the member with the longest service in the House
  - a representative of the Speaker
  - a member of the majority party in the chamber
  - a trusted ally of the President



52. Which of the following is true of independent regulatory agencies?
- They tend to have larger budgets than cabinet departments.
  - They are directly supervised by cabinet departments.
  - They provide a product or service directly to the public.
  - They are insulated from contact with interest groups.
  - They tend to be freer from presidential control than are cabinet departments.
53. Which of the following are differences between the legislative process in the House of Representatives and that in the Senate?
- Debate is more restricted on the House floor than on the Senate floor.
  - The amendment process is more restricted in the House than in the Senate.
  - Bills are more likely to bypass committee consideration in the House than in the Senate.
  - A Rules Committee sets the guidelines for floor debate in the House but not in the Senate.
- III only
  - I and II only
  - II and IV only
  - I, II, and IV only
  - I, II, III, and IV
54. Communication between congressional representatives and constituents occurs mainly through
- committee hearings
  - the media
  - the personal staffs of representatives
  - the federal bureaucracy
  - staff members of congressional committees
55. The Supreme Court's decision about abortion in *Roe v. Wade* was based on
- the right to privacy implied in the Bill of Rights
  - guarantees of freedom of religion contained in the First Amendment
  - the due process clause in the Fifth Amendment
  - the equal protection clause in the Fourteenth Amendment
  - a federal statute legalizing abortion
56. Which of the following trends was evident in presidential elections in the 1980's?
- The decline of Republican party strength among Black northerners
  - The decline of Democratic party strength among White Southerners
  - The gradual decline of Democratic party strength among suburban voters
  - A Democratic majority in partisan self-identification
  - A gender gap, with women's support of Republicans sharply declining
57. Which of the following statements about incumbent senators running for reelection is correct?
- The senators with the best chances of reelection are those who have served the longest.
  - The amount of money spent by a challenger has little bearing on an incumbent's reelection chances.
  - Incumbent senators are less likely to be reelected than are incumbent members of the House of Representatives.
  - An incumbent senator is equally likely to be reelected or defeated.
  - The most important factor influencing the reelection chances of senators is whether they belong to the President's party.

58. An important change in political culture since 1950 is that United States citizens have become
- A. more likely to believe that their actions can influence government policy
  - B. more trusting of nongovernmental institutions and leaders
  - C. less trusting of governmental institutions and leaders
  - D. less supportive of school integration
  - E. less likely to think of themselves as ideologically moderate
59. The most common criterion that people use when voting for a presidential candidate is the candidate's
- A. views on specific issues
  - B. party identification
  - C. ideological position
  - D. personal appearance
  - E. fiscal policy
60. Protection of the legal rights of women has been facilitated by the passage of which of the following?
- I. The Equal Rights Amendment
  - II. The Equal Pay Act of 1963
  - III. The Civil Rights Act of 1964
  - IV. The Education Amendments Act of 1972
- A. II only
  - B. I and III only
  - C. I and IV only
  - D. II, III, and IV only
  - E. I, II, III, and IV

END OF SECTION I. IF YOU FINISH BEFORE TIME IS CALLED, YOU MAY CHECK YOUR WORK ON THIS SECTION. DO NOT GO ON TO SECTION II UNTIL YOU ARE TOLD TO DO SO. MAKE SURE YOU HAVE PLACED YOUR AP NUMBER LABEL ON YOUR ANSWER SHEET AND HAVE WRITTEN AND GRIDDED YOUR NUMBER CORRECTLY IN SECTION B OF THE ANSWER SHEET

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**Note:** The following answer key is for a complete example of the 1994 AP Exam. Because of changes in the law and politics, however, some questions are out-of-date.

Questions 7, 21, 45, and 56 are out-of-date.

Questions 8 and 35 are subject to change given new leadership, rulings, laws, etc. See comments that follow the answer key.

## **UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS**

1994 EXAM

Section I

Answer Key

- |       |       |
|-------|-------|
| 1. B  | 16. D |
| 2. D  | 17. B |
| 3. E  | 18. C |
| 4. E  | 19. A |
| 5. B  | 20. E |
| 6. B  | 21. C |
| 7. D  | 22. A |
| 8. C* | 23. D |
| 9. B  | 24. A |
| 10. A | 25. B |
| 11. E | 26. E |
| 12. B | 27. E |
| 13. D | 28. C |
| 14. A | 29. A |
| 15. A | 30. C |

\* Question 8

Subject to change due to changes in campaign finance laws.

- |        |       |
|--------|-------|
| 31. B  | 46. E |
| 32. E  | 47. A |
| 33. D  | 48. D |
| 34. D  | 49. C |
| 35. B* | 50. B |
| 36. A  | 51. D |
| 37. A  | 52. E |
| 38. E  | 53. D |
| 39. B  | 54. C |
| 40. D  | 55. A |
| 41. C  | 56. B |
| 42. A  | 57. C |
| 43. B  | 58. C |
| 44. C  | 59. B |
| 45. E  | 60. D |

\* Question 35

Item problematic given recent presidential election.

**1999**  
**UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS**  
Section I  
Time 45 minutes  
60 Questions

Directions: Each of the questions or incomplete statements below is followed by five suggested answers or completions. Select the one that is best in each case.

1. Which of the following is an example of checks and balances, as established by the Constitution?
  - A. A requirement that states lower their legal drinking age to eighteen as a condition of receiving funds through federal highway grant programs
  - B. Media criticism of public officials during an election campaign period
  - C. The Supreme Court's ability to overturn a lower court decision
  - D. The requirement that presidential appointments to the Supreme Court be approved by the Senate
  - E. The election of the President by the electoral college rather than by direct election
  
2. The graph above supports which of the following statements?
  - A. People with higher incomes are more likely to think of themselves as conservative than are those with lower incomes.
  - B. Americans with incomes under \$10,000 are much more likely to think of themselves as liberal than as conservative.
  - C. A majority of people whose incomes fall between \$10,000 and \$50,000 think of themselves as conservative.
  - D. No income group contains more people who think of themselves as liberal than people who think of themselves as conservative.
  - E. People with higher incomes are less likely to think of themselves as either liberal or conservative than are those with lower incomes.
  
3. A primary election in which voters are required to identify a party preference before the election and are not allowed to split their ticket is called
  - A. an open primary
  - B. a blanket primary
  - C. a closed primary
  - D. a runoff primary
  - E. a presidential preference primary
  
4. When selecting a vice-presidential candidate, a presidential nominee is usually concerned primarily with choosing a running mate who
  - A. has significant personal wealth
  - B. adds balance and appeal to the national ticket
  - C. comes from the same ideological wing of the party as the President
  - D. can serve as the most important domestic policy adviser to the President
  - E. can effectively preside over the Senate
  
5. The primary function of political action committees (PAC's) is to
  - A. serve as fund-raising organizations for challengers
  - B. provide members of Congress with unbiased information regarding proposed legislation
  - C. consult with the President regarding domestic policy
  - D. encourage broader participation in politics among the electorate
  - E. raise campaign funds to support favored candidates

**DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME AMONG FAMILIES**  
(percentage share by economic level)

	<b>1980</b>	<b>1984</b>	<b>1988</b>
Lowest fifth	5.1	4.7	4.6
Second fifth	11.6	11.0	10.7
Third fifth	17.5	17.0	16.7
Fourth fifth	24.3	24.4	24.0
Highest fifth	41.6	42.9	44.0

6. Which of the following conclusions about income distribution during the Reagan administration is supported by the table above?
- A. The share of income received by the lowest fifth increased, whereas the share received by the fourth fifth decreased.
  - B. The share of income received by the second fifth increased, whereas the share received by the fourth fifth decreased.
  - C. The share of income received by the highest fifth increased, whereas the share received by the lowest fifth decreased.
  - D. The number of people earning high incomes increased.
  - E. The middle class disappeared.
7. Registered voters directly elect which of the following?
- I. The President and Vice President
  - II. Supreme Court justices
  - III. Members of the Senate
  - IV. Members of the House of Representatives
- A. I only
  - B. IV only
  - C. I and II only
  - D. III and IV only
  - E. II, III, and IV only
8. The role of a conference committee in Congress is to
- A. hold hearings on proposed legislation
  - B. oversee the actions of the executive branch of the government
  - C. decide which bills should be considered by the full Senate
  - D. conduct hearings that make information available to the public
  - E. reconcile differences in bills passed by the House and Senate
9. Supreme Court justices were given tenure subject to good behavior by the framers of the Constitution in order to ensure that
- A. justices are free from direct political pressures
  - B. justices remain accountable to the public
  - C. justices are encouraged to make politically popular decisions
  - D. cooperation between the judicial and legislative branches is assured
  - E. Presidents are encouraged to seek younger nominees for the Supreme
10. The committee system is more important in the House than in the Senate because
- A. the seniority system is so weak in the House that committees play a larger role
  - B. the Constitution mandates the type of committee structure in the House
  - C. committee members are appointed by the President
  - D. the House is so large that more work can be accomplished in committees than on the floor
  - E. the majority party in the House prefers to give priority to the work of the committees

11. The most important source of the Supreme Court's caseload is
- A. its original jurisdiction
  - B. its appellate jurisdiction
  - C. instruction from the solicitor general
  - D. the special master's certification of cases for review
  - E. Congress' certification of cases for review
12. A President attempting to influence Congress to pass a legislative program might employ all of the following strategies EXCEPT
- A. using the media to draw attention to the legislative program
  - B. assigning legislative liaisons in the Executive Office of the President to lobby legislators
  - C. denying campaign reelection funds to legislators who oppose the President's policy stand
  - D. exploiting a partisan majority for the President's party in both the House and Senate
  - E. reminding legislators of high popularity ratings for the President in public opinion polls
13. Presidents have had the most success in changing the direction of decisions of the federal judiciary by
- A. threatening to ask Congress to impeach specific judges
  - B. using the media to build consensus for the President's position
  - C. requesting that Congress reduce the term of office that judges may serve
  - D. using the appointment process to select judges with judicial philosophies similar to those of the President
  - E. pressuring Congress to pass the appropriate legislation to override judicial opinions
14. Which of the following did the most to expand civil rights in the 1950's?
- A. State legislative decisions desegregating public accommodations
  - B. State court decisions outlawing poll taxes
  - C. The passage of voting-rights legislation by Congress
  - D. Executive orders mandating affirmative action
  - E. The Supreme Court decision declaring state-mandated school segregation to be unconstitutional
15. Which of the following is true about the right of free speech, as currently interpreted by the Supreme Court?
- A. It protects the right to express opinions even without the actual use of words.
  - B. It protects the use of language deemed obscene by the courts.
  - C. It allows citizens to disobey laws that they believe to be unjust.
  - D. It is protected from infringement by the federal government but not from infringement by state governments.
  - E. It cannot be limited in any manner.
16. The importance of Shays' Rebellion to the development of the United States Constitution was that it
- A. revealed the necessity of both adding the Bill of Rights to the Constitution and creating a new system of checks and balances
  - B. demonstrated the intensity of antirratification sentiment within the thirteen states
  - C. indicated that a strong, constitutionally designed national government was needed to protect property and maintain order
  - D. convinced the delegates attending the Constitutional Convention to accept the Connecticut Plan
  - E. reinforced the idea that slavery should be outlawed in the new Constitution

17. In a federal system of government, political power is primarily
- A. vested in local governments
  - B. vested in the regional governments
  - C. vested in the central government
  - D. divided between the central government and regional governments
  - E. divided between regional governments and local governments
18. Which of the following generalizations about group voting tendencies is true?
- A. Jewish voters tend to vote Republican.
  - B. Protestant voters tend to be more liberal than Roman Catholics on economic issues.
  - C. More women than men identify themselves as Republicans.
  - D. Rural voters are more likely to support Democratic candidates than are urban voters.
  - E. African American Democrats tend to support the more liberal candidates within their party.
19. A corporate lobbyist would be LEAST likely to have an informal discussion about a pending policy matter with which of the following?
- A. A member of the House in whose district the corporation has a plant
  - B. A member of the White House staff concerned about the issue
  - C. A member of the staff of the Senate committee handling a matter of concern to the corporation
  - D. A federal judge in whose court a case important to the corporation is being heard
  - E. A journalist for a major newspaper concerned about the issue
20. Which of the following is a significant trend in the presidential nominating process over the past three decades?
- A. Replacement of national party conventions by national primaries for each party
  - B. Increasing importance of presidential primaries rather than state conventions
  - C. A sharply declining role for political action committees (PAC's)
  - D. Decreasing cost of campaigns
  - E. Increasing control by political party leaders over outcomes
21. Congressional standing committees are best described as
- A. specially appointed investigative bodies
  - B. joint committees of the two houses of Congress
  - C. committees created for each session
  - D. permanent subject-matter committees
  - E. advisory staff agencies
22. All of the following powers are granted to the President by the Constitution EXCEPT
- A. commissioning officers in the armed forces
  - B. addressing the Congress on the state of the union
  - C. receiving ambassadors
  - D. granting pardons for federal offenses
  - E. forming new cabinet-level departments
23. In which of the following did Congress move to regain powers previously lost to the executive branch?
- A. Budget and Impoundment Control Act
  - B. Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act
  - C. Presidential Disability Act
  - D. Gulf of Tonkin Resolution
  - E. Persian Gulf War Resolution

24. The data displayed in the table above best support which of the following statements?
- A. The reelection rate is higher in the Senate than in the House.
  - B. The average vote won by Senate members surpasses that won by House members.
  - C. House seats are safer from election turnover than are Senate seats.
  - D. House members serve more terms than do Senators.
  - E. More members of the Senate win reelection by 60% or more of the vote than do members of the House.
25. Which of the following actions can Congress take if the Supreme Court finds a federal law unconstitutional?
- A. Appeal the Court's decision to the District of Columbia's Court of Appeals.
  - B. Formally request the President to veto the Court's decision.
  - C. Remove certain members of the Court and replace them with new members.
  - D. Try to amend the Constitution.
  - E. Reenact the same law.
26. Which of the following statements about Congress is true?
- A. Members of Congress only occasionally are interested in and pay attention to constituency preferences.
  - B. The legislative process is frequently lengthy, decentralized, and characterized by compromise and bargaining.
  - C. Lobbyists and political action committees (PAC's) successfully induce most members of Congress to trade their votes for campaign contributions.
  - D. The growth in the size of Congress as an organization is the principal cause of growth in the federal budget deficit.
  - E. Debate in both houses is structured by elaborate rules enacted by leaders of the majority party.
27. Which of the following is articulated in the War Powers Resolution?
- A. The President may declare war.
  - B. The President must finance any war efforts from a special contingency fund.
  - C. The President must bring troops home from hostilities within 60 to 90 days unless Congress extends the time.
  - D. The President may not nationalize state militias without congressional consent.
  - E. The President may not send troops into hostilities without a declaration of war from Congress or a resolution from the United Nations.
28. In the 1992 election, the membership of Congress was altered significantly by an increase in the number of
- A. conservative Democrats
  - B. liberal Republicans
  - C. third-party representatives
  - D. political independents
  - E. minorities and women
29. Discrimination in public accommodations was made illegal in the United States as a direct result of the
- A. Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*
  - B. Supreme Court decision in *Sweatt v. Painter*
  - C. Civil Rights Act of 1964
  - D. Montgomery bus boycott
  - E. Voting Rights Act of 1965



30. Most of the individual protections of the Bill of Rights now apply to the states because of the Supreme Court's interpretation of the Constitution's
- Preamble
  - necessary and proper clause
  - supremacy clause
  - Tenth Amendment
  - Fourteenth Amendment
31. In *McCulloch v. Maryland*, the Supreme Court established which of the following principles?
- States cannot interfere with or tax the legitimate activities of the federal government.
  - The judicial branch cannot intervene in political disputes between the President and Congress.
  - The federal Bill of Rights places no limitations on the states.
  - The federal government has the power to regulate commerce.
  - It is within the judiciary's authority to interpret the constitution.
32. Political socialization is the process by which
- the use of private property is regulated by the government
  - governments communicate with each other
  - public attitudes toward government are measured and reported
  - political values are passed to the next generation
  - children are trained for successful occupations
33. Which of the following is the most important influence on the choice made by voters in presidential elections?
- Partisan identification
  - Party platform adopted at the national convention
  - Vice-presidential running mate
  - Endorsement by political incumbents
  - Appeal of the candidates' spouses
34. The advantages of incumbency in congressional elections include which of the following?
- Incumbents receive more campaign contributions than do challengers.
  - Incumbents are able to provide important services for individual voters.
  - The government provides campaign funds for incumbents.
  - The President usually endorses incumbents for reelection.
  - Most American voters believe Congress does a good job.
- I and II only
  - III and IV only
  - I, IV, and V only
  - II, III, and V only
  - III, IV, and V only
35. Which of the following statements about rules of procedure in the House and Senate is correct?
- Debate by a determined minority in either chamber cannot be halted.
  - The rules in each chamber are determined by the majority whip.
  - The rules are specified in Article I of the Constitution.
  - The rules can be changed by the President during a national emergency.
  - The House operates more by formal rules, while the Senate operates more on informal understandings.

36. Which of the following procedures results in the removal of the President from office?
- A. The House and Senate vote for impeachment, and the Supreme Court reaches a guilty verdict.
  - B. The House votes for impeachment, and the Senate conducts a trial and reaches a guilty verdict.
  - C. The House and Senate both vote for a bill of impeachment.
  - D. Only the House votes for a bill of impeachment.
  - E. A criminal court finds the President guilty of "high crimes and misdemeanors."
37. Interest groups and political parties both promote United States democracy by
- A. expressing detailed, ideologically distinct programs
  - B. centralizing public authority
  - C. linking citizens to the political process
  - D. increasing domination of the political process by elites
  - E. lobbying members of Congress
38. Which of the following statements accurately describes the selection of the caseload for the United States Supreme Court?
- A. The United States Constitution spells out all of the categories of cases that the Supreme Court must hear.
  - B. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court has the authority to select the cases that the Court will hear.
  - C. The Solicitor General in the Department of Justice determines the Supreme Court's agenda.
  - D. The Supreme Court is free to choose the cases it hears with only a few limitations.
  - E. The Attorney General screens cases for consideration by the Court.
39. The boundaries of United States congressional districts are usually determined by
- A. the Federal Election Commission (FEC)
  - B. the state legislatures
  - C. the House Rules Committee
  - D. a conference committee of the House and Senate
  - E. the director of the United States Census Bureau
40. Public monies are used to help finance which of the following campaigns?
- I. Presidential
  - II. Congressional
  - III. Gubernatorial
- A. I only
  - B. II only
  - C. I and II only
  - D. II and III only
  - E. I, II, and III
41. Diversity of public policy throughout the United States is primarily a consequence of
- A. federalism
  - B. separation of powers
  - C. innovation within bureaucratic agencies
  - D. decentralization in the Senate
  - E. lack of party discipline in the House

42. All of the following have contributed to an increase in presidential power in the post-1945 era EXCEPT
- A. tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War period
  - B. an increase in public expectations for services from the federal government
  - C. economic and domestic problems such as inflation, unemployment, and civil rights issues
  - D. increasing United States involvement in international affairs
  - E. legislation granting the President the power to impound funds appropriated by Congress
43. One of the formal tools used by Congress for oversight of the bureaucracy is
- A. the line-item veto
  - B. authorization of spending
  - C. impoundment bills
  - D. private bills
  - E. senatorial courtesy
44. Decisions reached by the Supreme Court under the leadership of Chief Justice Earl Warren (1953-1969) did all of the following EXCEPT
- A. rule against malapportionment in state legislatures
  - B. void state statutes that permitted school segregation
  - C. invalidate state abortion statutes
  - D. expand the rights of criminal defendants
  - E. increase protection for First Amendment freedoms
45. The "Miranda warning" represents an attempt to protect criminal suspects against
- A. unfair police interrogation
  - B. biased jury selection
  - C. imprisonment without trial
  - D. illegal wiretapping
  - E. unjustified police surveillance
46. The reserved powers of the state governments can best be described as those powers
- A. not specifically granted to the national government or denied to the states
  - B. implied in the Fifth Amendment
  - C. listed specifically in the Tenth Amendment
  - D. exercised by both national and state governments
  - E. granted to states as part of the implied powers doctrine
47. Critical elections in the United States typically have occurred
- A. as a result of a temporary shift in the popular coalition supporting one or both parties
  - B. whenever a third party has secured more than fifteen percent of the presidential vote
  - C. each time a Republican has been elected President
  - D. when voter turnout has declined significantly from the previous election
  - E. when groups of voters have changed their traditional patterns of party loyalties
48. When 18 to 21 year olds received the right to vote in 1971, in the 1972 national elections they did which of the following?
- A. Voted overwhelmingly for Republican candidates.
  - B. Voted overwhelmingly for Democratic candidates.
  - C. Voted overwhelmingly for radical candidates.
  - D. Turned out at a lower rate than the rest of the electorate.
  - E. Turned out at the same rate as the rest of the electorate.

49. The largest amount of political coverage in newspapers during presidential campaigns is devoted to
- A. day-to-day campaign activities
  - B. the platforms of the major parties
  - C. candidates' policy stands on domestic issues
  - D. candidates' stands on foreign policy issues
  - E. candidates' experience and qualifications
50. A state has 11 electoral votes. In a presidential election, the Democratic candidate receives 48 percent of that state's popular vote, the Republican candidate receives 40 percent of the vote, and an independent candidate receives 12 percent of the vote.
- If the state is similar to other states, how will the electoral votes most likely be allocated?
- A. The Democratic candidate will receive 5 electoral votes, the Republican will receive 4, and the independent will receive 2.
  - B. The Democratic candidate will receive 6 electoral votes and the Republican will receive 5.
  - C. The Democratic candidate will receive all 11 electoral votes.
  - D. The votes will not be allocated until there has been a runoff election between the Democratic and Republican candidates.
  - E. The House of Representatives will determine the allocation of the electoral votes.
51. Which of the following is the most accurate statement about political parties in the United States?
- A. Parties increasingly identify themselves with coherent ideologies to attract large blocs of voters.
  - B. The percentage of voters identifying them-selves as either Democrats or Republicans has been declining since the 1970's.
  - C. National party organizations are generally the strongest party organizations.
  - D. It is increasingly difficult for third parties to gain more than two percent of the popular vote.
  - E. Most candidates prefer to run as independents rather than as Democrats or Republicans.
52. The congressional power that has been contested most frequently in the federal courts is the power to
- A. establish post offices
  - B. coin money
  - C. levy taxes
  - D. regulate commerce with foreign nations
  - E. regulate interstate commerce
53. Which of the following is an accurate statement about committees in Congress?
- A. The work of a committee ends when it submits a bill to the full House or Senate for consideration.
  - B. An individual representative or senator can serve on only one committee and one subcommittee.
  - C. Membership on key committees such as House Rules and Senate Finance is limited to fixed terms.
  - D. Standing committees oversee the bureaucracy's implementation of legislation.
  - E. Committee recommendations tend to have little influence on floor voting.

54. The request of recent Presidents for the line-item veto is a challenge to which of the following principles?
- Separation of powers
  - Senatorial courtesy
  - Eminent domain
  - Executive privilege
  - Congressional oversight
55. Which of the following form an "iron triangle"?
- President, Congress, Supreme Court
  - President, House majority leader, Senate majority leader
  - Interest group, Senate majority leader, House majority leader
  - Executive department, House majority leader, President
  - Executive department, Congressional committee, interest group
56. An election involving more than two candidates in which the person who receives the most votes is the winner is called
- a majority election
  - a proportional election
  - a plurality election
  - a simple election
  - an indirect election
57. Cabinet members seldom have a dominant influence on presidential decision-making because
- cabinet members generally maintain close independent ties to Congress
  - cabinet members generally view their position only as a stepping-stone to further their own political ambitions
  - cabinet members are not permitted to disagree publicly with the President
  - presidential goals often conflict with the institutional goals of individual cabinet-level agencies
  - only half of all cabinet members can be members of the President's party
58. A fundamental source of power for the federal bureaucracy lies in its
- role in moving legislation out of sub-committees
  - role in mediating interstate conflicts
  - ability to convince Congress to fund most projects it supports
  - ability to mobilize public opinion in support of legislative initiatives
  - ability to set specific guidelines after receiving a general mandate from Congress
59. Since 1965, minority group members have been deprived of political representation proportionate to their numbers in the general population primarily because of the wide use of
- closed primaries
  - literacy tests
  - election rules requiring a clear majority to win
  - the single-transferable vote system
  - the single-member district system
60. *Griswold v. Connecticut* and *Roe v. Wade* are similar Supreme Court cases in that both cases are based on the
- rights of gay men and lesbian women
  - right of privacy
  - right to an abortion
  - right to freedom from cruel and unusual punishment
  - right of women to equal protection before the law

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Note: The following answer key is for a complete example of the 1999 AP Exam. Because of changes in the law and politics, however, a few questions are out-of-date.

Questions 28 and 54 are out-of-date.

Questions 4, 5, 15, and 40 are subject to change. See further commentary below the answer key.

## UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

### 1999 EXAM

#### Section I

#### Answer Key

- |        |       |
|--------|-------|
| 1. D   | 16. C |
| 2. A   | 17. D |
| 3. C   | 18. E |
| 4. B*  | 19. D |
| 5. E*  | 20. B |
| 6. C   | 21. D |
| 7. D   | 22. E |
| 8. E   | 23. A |
| 9. A   | 24. C |
| 10. D  | 25. D |
| 11. B  | 26. B |
| 12. C  | 27. C |
| 13. D  | 28. E |
| 14. E  | 29. C |
| 15. A* | 30. E |

\* Question 4:

Because the selections of Gore and Cheney have challenged this traditional approach to selection of the vice-president, this item may be dated.

\* Question 5:

This item is subject to changes in the campaign finance laws.

\* Question 15:

This item is subject to change, depending on changes in the Court and new rulings.

- |        |       |
|--------|-------|
| 31. A  | 46. A |
| 32. D  | 47. E |
| 33. A  | 48. D |
| 34. A  | 49. A |
| 35. E  | 50. C |
| 36. B  | 51. B |
| 37. C  | 52. E |
| 38. D  | 53. D |
| 39. B  | 54. A |
| 40. A* | 55. E |
| 41. A  | 56. C |
| 42. E  | 57. D |
| 43. B  | 58. E |
| 44. C  | 59. C |
| 45. A  | 60. B |

\* Question 40: This item is subject to changes in the campaign-finance laws

# Politics

## Who governs: Participants

### **Governmental**

President/White House staff  
Executive Office of the President,  
including Office of Management and Budget  
Cabinet officers and executive agency heads  
Bureaucrats  
Congress members  
Congressional staff  
Supreme Court justices  
Federal appellate and district judges

### **Non - governmental**

Voters  
Campaign contributors  
Interest group leaders/members  
Party leaders and party identifiers  
in the electorate  
Corporate and Union leaders  
Media leaders, including press, TV  
anchors and reporters  
Lawyers and lobbyists  
Think tanks and foundation personnel

## When and How: Institutions and Processes

### **Institutions**

Constitution  
Separation of Powers  
Checks and Balances  
Federalism  
Judicial review  
Amendment procedures  
Electoral system  
Presidency  
Congress  
Senate  
House of Representatives  
Courts  
Supreme Court  
Appellate Courts  
District Courts  
Parties  
National committees  
Conventions  
State and local organizations  
Press and Television

### **Processes**

Socialization and learning  
Opinion formation  
Party identification  
Voting  
Contributing  
Joining organizations  
Talking politics  
Running for office  
Campaigning  
Polling  
Fund raising  
Parading/Demonstrating  
Nonviolent direct action  
Violence  
Agenda setting  
Lobbying  
Logrolling  
Deciding  
Budgeting  
Adjudicating

## What Outcomes: Public Policies

Civil Liberties  
Civil rights  
Equality  
Criminal Justice  
Welfare

Social Security  
Health  
Education  
Energy  
Environmental protection

Economic development  
Economic stability  
Taxation  
Gov't spending/deficits  
National defense  
Foreign affairs

# The Constitution of the United States of America

<http://www.law.cornell.edu/constitution/constitution.table.html>

**Preamble** ["We the people...."]

**Article I** [The Legislative Branch]

..Section 1. [Legislative Power Vested]

..Section 2. [House of Representatives]

..Section 3. [Senate]

..Section 4. [Elections of Senators and Representatives]

..Section 5. [Rules of House and Senate]

..Section 6. [Compensation and Privileges of Members]

..Section 7. [Passage of Bills]

..Section 8. [Scope of Legislative Power]

..Section 9. [Limits on Legislative Power]

..Section 10. [Limits on States]

**Article II** [The Presidency]

..Section 1. [Election, Installation, Removal]

..Section 2. [Presidential Power]

..Section 3. [State of the Union, Receive Ambassadors, Laws Faithfully Executed, Commission Officers]

..Section 4. [Impeachment]

**Article III** [The Judiciary]

..Section 1. [Judicial Power Vested]

..Section 2. [Scope of Judicial Power]

..Section 3. [Treason]

**Article IV** [The States]

..Section 1. [Full Faith and Credit]

..Section 2. [Privileges and Immunities, Extradiction, Fugitive Slaves]

..Section 3. [Admission of States]

..Section 4. [Guarantees to States]

**Article V** [The Amendment Process]

**Article VI** [Legal Status of the Constitution]

**Article VII** [Ratification]

Amendment I [Religion, Speech, Press, Assembly, Petition (1791)]

Amendment II [Right to Bear Arms (1791)]

Amendment III [Quartering of Troops (1791)]

Amendment IV [Search and Seizure (1791)]

Amendment V [Grand Jury, Double Jeopardy, Self-Incrimination, Due Process (1791)]

Amendment VI [Criminal Prosecutions - Jury Trial, Right to Confront and to Counsel (1791)]

Amendment VII [Common Law Suits - Jury Trial (1791)]

Amendment VIII [Excess Bail or Fines, Cruel and Unusual Punishment (1791)]

Amendment IX [Non-Enumerated Rights (1791)]

Amendment X [Rights Reserved to States (1791)]

Amendment XI [Suits Against a State (1795)]

Amendment XII [Election of President and Vice-President (1804)]

Amendment XIII [Abolition of Slavery (1865)]

Amendment XIV [Privileges and Immunities, Due Process, Equal Protection, Apportionment of Representatives, Civil War Disqualification and Debt (1868)]

Amendment XV [Rights Not to Be Denied on Account of Race (1870)]

Amendment XVI [Income Tax (1913)]

Amendment XVII [Election of Senators (1913)]

Amendment XVIII [Prohibition (1919)]

Amendment XIX [Women's Right to Vote (1920)]

Amendment XX [Presidential Term and Succession (1933)]

Amendment XXI [Repeal of Prohibition (1933)]

Amendment XXII [Two Term Limit on President (1951)]

Amendment XXIII [Presidential Vote in D.C. (1961)]

Amendment XXIV [Poll Tax (1964)]

Amendment XXV [Presidential Succession (1967)]

Amendment XXVI [Right to Vote at Age 18 (1971)]

Amendment XXVII [Compensation of Members of Congress (1992)]

Amendments

In addition know the following in greater detail:

a. Preamble

b. Article I, Section 8,9

c. Article II, Section 2

d. Article V, Amendment Process

Formal/Expressed Powers =  
Those Found in the Constitution



# The 50 biggest changes in the last 50 years

## Politics

by Terry Golway  
American Heritage  
March 2004

*With American Heritage approaching its fiftieth birthday in December 2004, we've asked five prominent historians and cultural commentators to each pick 10 leading developments in American life in the last half-century. We begin in this issue with Terry Golway—the political columnist for the New York Observer, whose books include Irish Rebel: John Devoy and America's Fight for Ireland's Freedom and So Others Might Live: A History of New York's Bravest—selecting the ten biggest changes in politics. In the next four issues we'll follow with our other authorities' choices of the half-century's biggest transformations in innovation and technology; business; home and the family; and entertainment and culture.*

Unlike T. rex, communism, and your beloved local hardware store, clever politicians have little problem adapting to change, even the sort of precedent-shattering, go-where-no-human-has-gone-before change that might terrify most mortals. In fact, the craftiest politicians—the strongest, if you will—find ways to make evolution work for them. Franklin Roosevelt understood and harnessed the power of radio. The old urban machines reached out to immigrants in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and reaped the benefits. Andrew Jackson showed that in a raucous democracy, it helped to be a little raucous yourself.

Similarly, despite great changes in politics since 1954, politicians have adapted, and by any measure they appear to be thriving. They raise money through the Internet (thank you, Howard Dean). They embrace technology that allows them to track their popularity and perhaps—believe it or not—shape their beliefs on a daily basis. They understand the importance of including the formerly excluded. A half-century ago, who could have foreseen that a Republican President would one day appoint an African-American from the Bronx as Secretary of State, a job held in 1954 by John Foster Dulles? And they have shed their formality to better suit an informal age. We don't think twice when we see the President of the United States dressed in jeans, but just try to picture Harry Truman in a pair.

How many of these changes represent something new, and how many are simply variations on a theme? Ah, that is the question!

Nowadays it is common to read that the nation's political dialogue has become crude, vulgar, and even hateful. The bestseller lists are crowded with titles that accuse the President of being a liar and his critics with being traitors. This level of discussion, several commentators have suggested, is a dramatic change from the halcyon days, when debates were polite and Democrats and Republicans happily shared cocktails together after a long day of lawmaking.

Hmm. What would Abraham Lincoln make of this nostalgia for a kinder, gentler political debate, as he gazed at commentaries likening him to a monkey? Supporters of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson had some pretty strong words for one another during the campaign of 1800. And let us not forget that in 1954 the most dominant figure on Capitol Hill was a senator from Wisconsin named Joseph McCarthy.

While the tone of today's political debates certainly has an unfortunate edge, the coarsened discourse does not represent a revolution in American politics. This kind of change is not a tidal wave but merely ebb and flow.

With those caveats, here is one person's view of the ten most dramatic changes in American politics since 1954. If you disagree, call me any name you wish. We've heard it all before.

## 1. The Expansion of Voting Rights

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 surely fits the definition of revolutionary, once-in-a-lifetime change. In 1954, African-Americans in the South were utterly disenfranchised, sometimes through such devices as poll taxes and literacy tests, often through outright intimidation. Jim Crow was at its zenith, and Southern politicians were determined to keep it there. According to Justice Department figures, as recently as 1965 only 19.3 percent of eligible blacks in Alabama were registered to vote (the white

figure was 69.2 percent). In Georgia, 27.4 percent of blacks were registered, as opposed to 62.6 percent of whites. And in Mississippi, an appalling 6.7 percent of blacks were registered, compared with nearly 70 percent of whites. For a black man or woman in the South in 1954, the glory of the ballot box was a cruel mirage.

The suppression of voting rights in the South was hardly a secret. It was the sort of injustice that mainstream politicians sometimes ignore, or, worse, indulge, for their own political reasons. But in 1965, a Democratic President from Texas, Lyndon Johnson, decided to put an end to the government's complicity in this outrage. He demanded, and in due course received from Congress, a voting rights bill that would demolish obstacles placed before black voters. The Voting Rights Act of 1965, enforced by the full weight of federal power, brought an end to the days of whites-only voting in the South. Within 25 years, black registration in seven Southern states (Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Virginia, and the Carolinas) was roughly the same as it was for whites. The number of black elected officials went from zero in 1960 to nearly 300 in 1992. And, by the 1990s, holdovers from the Jim Crow era of Southern politics found themselves in the unlikely position of courting black voters.

And there's more. This revolutionary piece of legislation continues to influence American politics, long after poll taxes and literacy tests were tossed into history's dustbin. The Justice Department aggressively monitors congressional reapportionment throughout the country, not just in the South, to make sure that gerrymandering does not dilute the voting power of minorities. That mandate flows from the Voting Rights Act, the single most important change in American politics since 1954.

## **2. Television**

In 1954, it was still what the humorist Fred Allen called a piece of talking furniture. Politicians didn't know what to make of it, if they ever thought about it at all. President Eisenhower said he couldn't imagine anything more boring than watching himself on television. He wasn't kidding. Ike's TV appearances were made for radio.

Then, of course, came John F. Kennedy, tan, young, and handsome, and neither television nor politics has ever been the same. The familiar story of JFK's first debate with Richard Nixon in 1960 sums up the power of this new medium and the way it changed politics. Those who listened on radio thought Nixon was the winner; those who let their eyes do the thinking backed Kennedy. And we've been feasting our eyes ever since.

With the profusion of local cable channels and public-access programming, candidates for even the lowliest local offices must consider the power of TV. Presidential candidates began to adapt to the medium's demands in the 1960s; today, even candidates for state legislature or city council are coached to speak in sound bites and maybe drop a few pounds to look better for the cameras.

It is easy to bemoan television's influence for all the obvious reasons (will we ever elect another bald President, even if he happens to be a five-star general?). But those harsh studio lights also allow us to see our leaders up close and sometimes unscripted. Fifty years ago, politicians communicated with their constituents via letters and newsletters that were written by their staffs. Now when mayors, aldermen, and dogcatchers answer questions on live television, there is nothing between the viewer and the official's thought process. It is sometimes a scary prospect. But it is also illuminating.

## **3. The Success of the Conservative Movement**

With the inauguration of Dwight Eisenhower in 1953, moderate Republicanism seemed triumphant. Robert A. Taft, the isolationist conservative from Ohio had been defeated at the 1952 Republican convention by the party's moderates and liberals. The New Deal would not be repealed; the era of consensus politics had begun. The postwar era would belong to internationalist, big-government Republicans like Nelson Rockefeller.

But then a dissenter from Arizona, Barry Goldwater, won the party's presidential nomination in 1964. He was defeated in a landslide, which was interpreted at the time as another repudiation of the

Republican Party's right wing. Not exactly. In 1980, another politician from the Sunbelt, Ronald Reagan, defied expectations, upset the party's old guard (which supported the moderate, internationalist George H. W. Bush) and captured the Presidency. Conservatives were no longer mere political curiosities who read *National Review*. They were, in fact, mainstream politicians who clearly had a message millions longed to hear.

Reagan's election and the movement that supported him reordered the nation's political demographics. They created a new voting bloc known as Reagan Democrats. In the Northeast and the Midwest, these voters were, generally speaking, white, Catholic suburban homeowners, solidly middle-class and often members of labor unions. In the South, they were blue-collar white Protestants. Their parents and grandparents had been stalwart New Dealers from the old industrial cities, but by 1980, they were alienated from the party of their forebears. Ronald Reagan spoke to them in a way Democrats hadn't since Harry Truman. By 2000 they were no longer Reagan Democrats. They were simply Republicans.

## **4. The Decline and Fall of New York**

Who would have predicted it in 1954? Just ten years before, in 1944, the Empire State had had a monopoly on presidential candidates: Both Franklin D. Roosevelt and Thomas E. Dewey were New York governors who rose to the top in part because of their state's extraordinary political power. It had had the nation's largest congressional delegation (and thus the most electoral votes), and a New York governor ran for President in every election from 1928 to 1948.

But no New Yorker has won a major-party presidential nomination since Dewey in 1948. The Empire State is now the third most populous state, and its delegation in the House has shrunk from 43 to 29. New York now has fewer electoral votes than it had in 1884 (when its 36 electoral votes were decisive in electing Grover Cleveland, another New York governor who made good). While New York remains a place candidates visit to collect campaign contributions, it is no longer the state parties look to for national leaders. The state's junior senator may yet reverse this trend, but then again, Hillary Clinton is something of a newcomer to New York.

## **5. The Rising Sunbelt**

This change obviously is not unrelated to the two preceding ones. Reagan's election in 1980, the Republican take-over of Congress in 1994, and the nation's changing demographics have moved the nexus of national politics south and west. California, Texas, and Florida are the new electoral powerhouses, at the expense of New York and the industrial Midwest. Except for Michigan's Gerald Ford, who was never elected in his own right, every occupant of the White House since Lyndon Johnson has come from the South or the West—even that Connecticut Yankee from Texas, George H. W. Bush.

## **6. The Women in Office**

The Washington that Harry Truman left in 1953 was a fraternity. The Washington presided over by George W. Bush includes a woman as National Security Advisor; women Supreme Court justices; cabinet members and members of Congress; a female Minority Leader in the House; and innumerable woman lobbyists, staff members, commentators, and reporters. And out in the provinces, women serve in unprecedented numbers as governors, mayors, state legislators, and local officials, positions that were, by and large, males-only in 1954. While many feminists would argue that real power remains in male hands—no woman has yet won national office or been appointed Chief Justice of the United States—there is no denying that women today have far more power and influence in politics than they did 50 years ago.

## **7. The Almighty Dollar**

Yes, money has always had an important place in American politics. Yes, political candidates have always been dependent on the generosity of, er, public-spirited citizens with expendable incomes. But has money ever been more decisive than it is today, at all levels of politics? Probably not. Forget the

extraordinary sums raised and spent on national campaigns, and consider the sums involved in local races. In New Jersey, for example, both parties raised and spent about \$48 million in the state's off-year legislative elections in 2003; 20 years ago, they spent about \$8 million on state legislative elections. In one state senate race, the winning candidate spent \$212 per vote, according to the Star-Ledger. The importance of money manifests itself not only in election results but in the political culture. Officeholders and candidates, including the President, now spend far more time soliciting contributions than they did 50 or even 10 years ago. Between shaking contributors' hands and wolfing down rubber chicken, does anybody have time to think any more?

## **8. The End of National Conventions as We Knew Them**

As this magazine noted nearly four years ago, national political conventions still serve a useful purpose. They are where delegates meet one another, they are where ambitious local candidates make their presence known to the national press, they are where a speech can make or break a career. An improperly managed convention can still lead to disaster. And, let's remember, the convention is where a party's vice-presidential nominee is introduced to the public.

That said, the convention just isn't the same and hasn't been since the 1950s. Nominees are selected not in back rooms, not on the convention floor, but in the presidential primaries. And even that is not entirely true. The nominee generally is chosen by late March, in a process that makes later primaries increasingly irrelevant. Gone are the days when Dwight Eisenhower could announce his candidacy in the very year he would stand for election, 1952. When Wesley Clark announced his presidential candidacy in the fall of 2003, most observers believed he was joining the fray far too late. Candidates need time to build organizations to contest the fateful early primaries.

Many political journalists still yearn for the days of dramatic conventions, and every four years somebody will write a speculative piece about a brokered convention. (Have you read about the scenario by which Hillary Clinton becomes this year's Democratic nominee without having entered the primaries?) It never happens. And it never will again.

## **9. The Demise of the Urban Bosses**

Franklin Roosevelt had Ed Flynn of the Bronx by his side. Harry Truman dealt with the Pendergasts of Missouri before he was in the White House. Those were prototypical political bosses, men who ruled over political machines that knew how to turn out the vote. But the bosses, who demanded nothing if not loyalty, have been replaced by consultants for hire, who have applied modern marketing methods to political campaigns. So in place of Ed Flynn, Bill Clinton had Dick Morris, who worked for Republicans as well as Democrats. In place of the Pendergasts, George W. Bush has Karl Rove. The bosses had instincts; the consultants have data. The bosses delivered votes; the consultants deliver polls, focus groups, and pre-tested messages. The bosses lived for politics; the consultants could be selling anything.

If this sounds like a lament for the bosses, let it be noted that politics is a good deal more unpredictable, and more democratic, without them. The old bosses simply would not have allowed a one-term governor from Georgia to run for President in 1976.

Then again, no political boss would have conducted polls to help a President decide where to spend his vacation, as Morris did for Clinton.

## **10. The Baby Boomers**

They changed everything else (or at least they think they did), so why not politics? The next time you hear a presidential candidate discussing his or her choice of underwear, you know who to blame.

# Campaign Finance Talking Points

Our  
**Ethos**

“ ... to purge national politics of what [is] **conceived** to be the pernicious influence of ‘big money’ campaign contributions...”

“ ... government interest ... preventing the actual or **apparent** corruption of federal candidates ...”

## Federal Election Campaign Act [FECA] (1971)

Hard Money \$1,000 to campaign  
\$20,000 to party

**FULL DISCLOSURE**

Money cannot be raised on Federal property

Soft Money Limited to “get out the vote” and “issue advocacy”

Individuals can give unlimited \$ to their own campaigns.

**Buckley v. Valeo** (1976) Money protected by 1st Amendment  
Certain limits deemed Constitutional

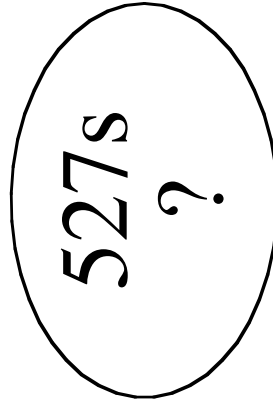
McCain/Feingold  
Shays/Meehan

## BiPartisan Campaign Reform Act [BCRA] (2002)

Hard Money \$2,000 to campaign  
\$25,000 to party

**FULL DISCLOSURE**

Soft Money **Banned** **ALSO BANNED** “electioneering communication” 60 days before general,  
30 days before primary



**McConnell v. FEC** (Federal Election Commission (2003) **UPHELD**...

NO LIMITS/NO DISCLOSURE  
moveon.org  
swiftboatveteransfortruth.org

Money is like water . . . it will always find the leak... Should we care?

# The Modern Presidential Campaign Scorecard

## STAYING ON MESSAGE

Election  
November 2008

### BRANDING

- Essential first steps:**
1. Get mentioned
  2. Find a HANDLER
  3. Start raising \$\$\$

democratization of the process

1. Late Summer
2. Platform
3. Showcase Nominee
4. Coronation
5. Choose VP - ticket balancing?
6. Free Commercial

### DEBATES

### FRONTLOADING

Selecting delegates for party convention

January before election

### PARTY CONVENTIONS

[ALL 50 States hold primaries and caucuses]

Candidate with a majority of delegates is the nominee

### LIKEABILITY

Less important

New Hampshire Primary

### Cattleshows

Public Financing Available - Limits

Inauguration  
in January

### October Surprise?

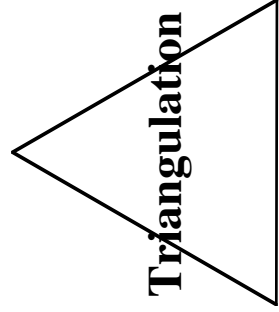
### Winning your party's NOMINATION

### BASE

### SWING VOTERS

\$\$\$

\$\$\$



### Winning the GENERAL ELECTION

### Conclusions:

1. Longer
2. More expensive
3. More democratic
4. Horserace coverage
5. Handlers are key
6. Partys in decline
7. Regional blocs key
8. Welcoming to extreme candidates?

### IMAGE

How early?

2 years?

# Theory

Article 1  
Legislative  
“make laws”

Article 2  
Executive  
“enforce laws”

Article 3  
Judicial  
“interpret laws”

## Bill of Rights

1. Speech  
Press  
Religion
2. Bear Arms
4. Unreasonable  
Searches
5. Rights of the  
Accused
6. Criminal  
Proceedings
8. Unusual  
Punishment
10. Reserved  
Powers

14. Due  
Process of  
Law

Federalist 51

Supremacy Clause

Preferred Position

1st Tuesday, after 1st Monday

Social Contract

Divided Government

Minority Rights

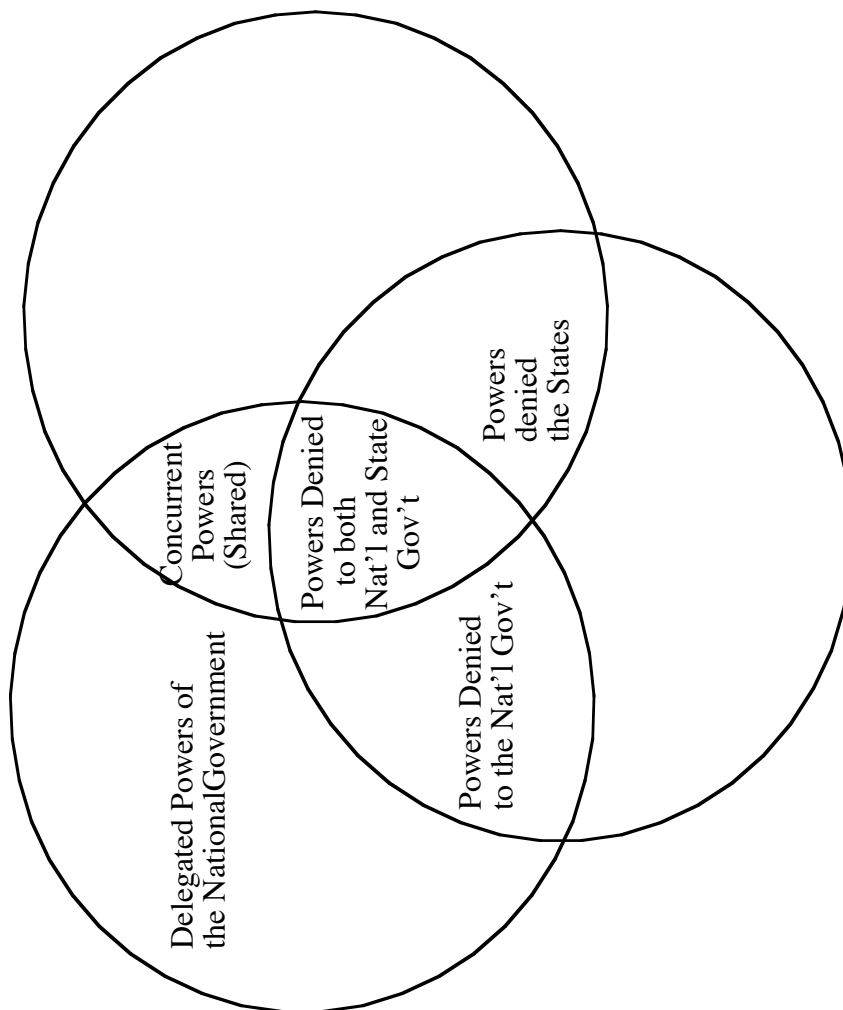
Energetic President

Necessary and Proper Clause

Judicial Review

# Separation of Powers

# Federalism

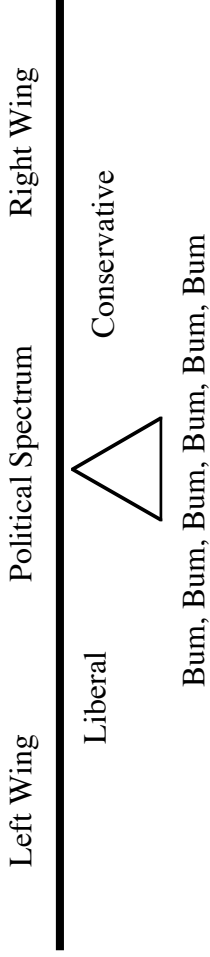


- Reserved Powers
- Marble Cake
- Pseudo - Events
- Primary v. Caucus
- 15, 19, 26 Amendments
- Tweedledum and Tweedledee
- Access Points
- New Deal
- Amendment Process



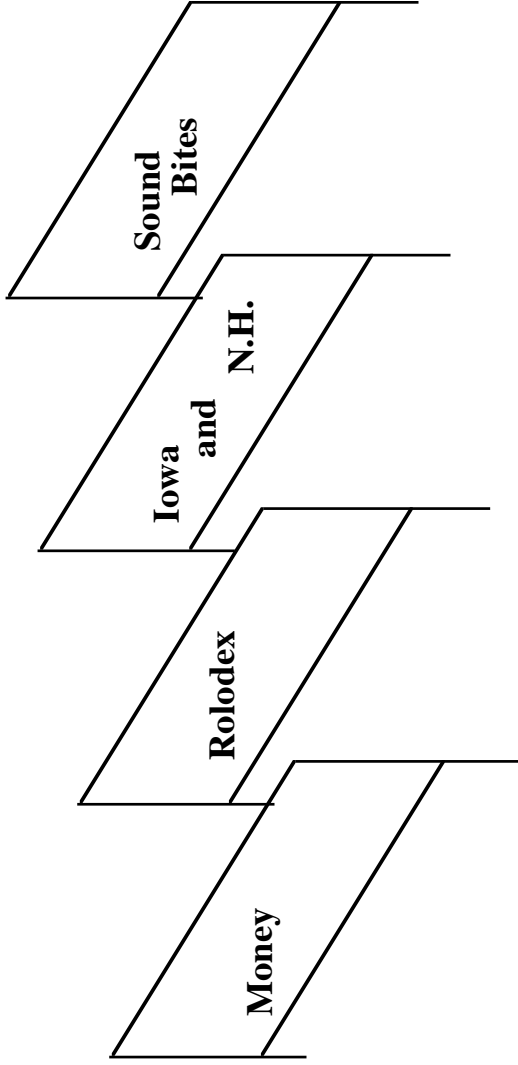
# Participation

- Popular Sovereignty
- The Chad
- Exit Poll
- Moter - Voter Bill
- 'Voting is for old people'
- 2 Party System
- Silent Vote
- Mandate
- Gerrymandering
- Opinion of the Court



# Suffrage

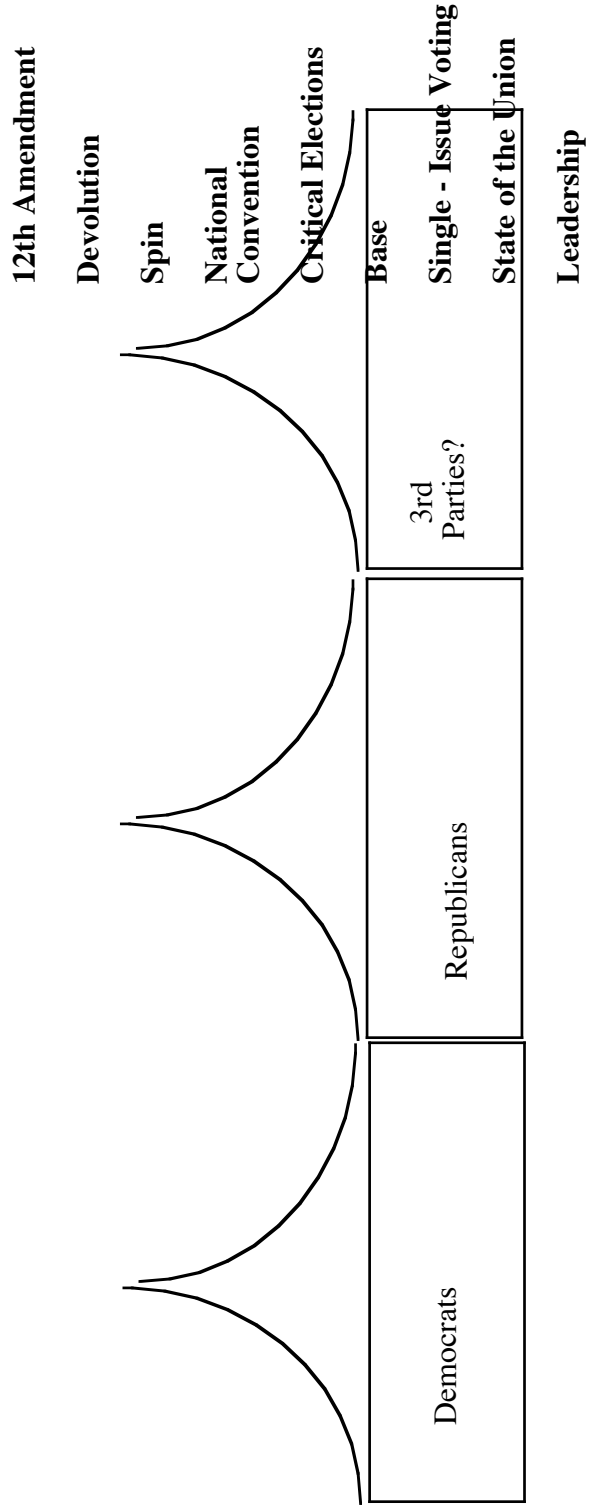
# Campaigns



- Republic
- Referendums
- Saturation Coverage
- Cattleshow
- Turnout
- Gender - Gap
- Grassroots
- Coattails
- Franking

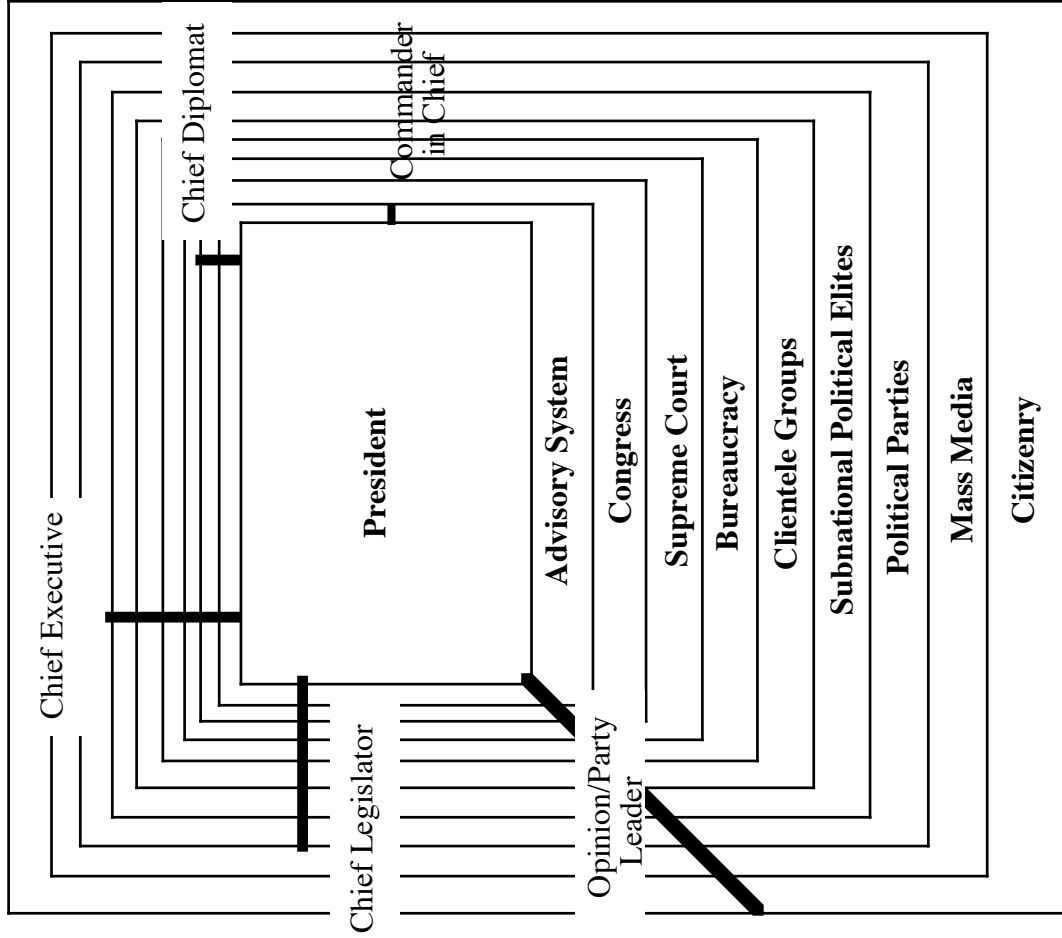
# Handlers

# Political Parties



# Big Tent

**Decision Makers Affecting Presidential Powers in Five Roles**



# President

- Article Two
- Electoral College
- Image
- Approval Ratings
- Winner - take - all
- Patronage
- Executive Orders
- Chief Executive
- Iron Triangle
- Litmus Test

# Bully Pulpit

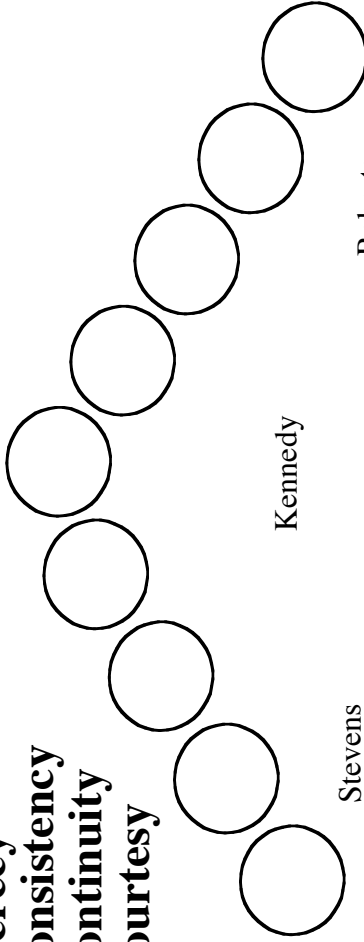
# Courts

Secrecy

Consistency

Continuity

Courtesy



Article Three

Jurisdiction

*NY Times v. U.S.*

*Bush v. Gore*

“one man, one vote”

McCain - Feingold

*Brown v. Board of Ed.*

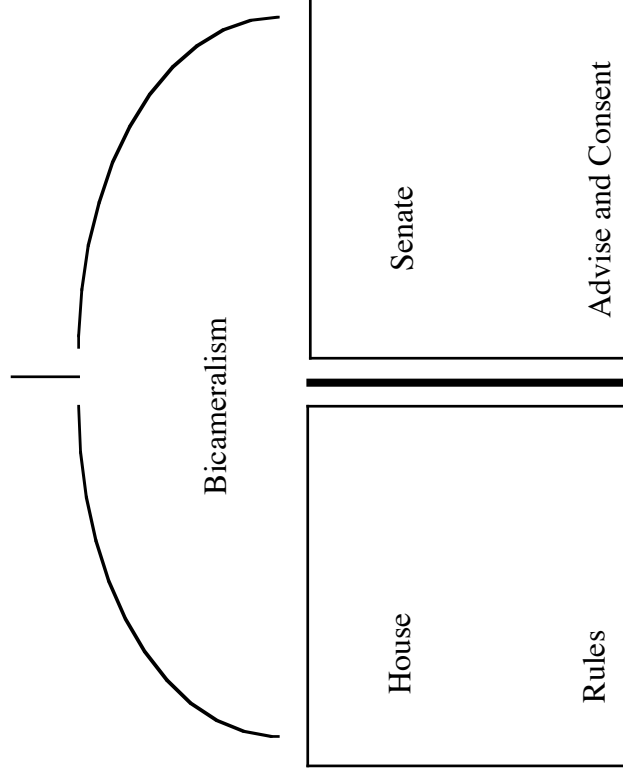
*U.S. v. Nixon*

Commerce Clause

Jurisprudence

# Rule of Law

# Congress



Article One

Grants

C -SPAN

Incumbency

Single - Member District

Party Caucuses

Lobbying

Veto

Constituent Service

Mark - Up

# Cup and Saucer

# “Chain of Fools”? Let’s Hope Not: Preparing for Your A.P. Government Exam

**Liberty**  
Liberal  
Democrat

Moderate  
Independent

Order  
Conservative  
Republican

---

Blue States

Red States

**Access**  
Suffrage: the right to vote  
15th, 19th, 26th Amendments  
Help America Vote Act (2002)

**Campaigns**  
“Handlers”  
Selling Images  
rather than  
Ideas

**President**  
Executive Branch  
The Sword

**Congress**  
Legislative Branch  
The Purse

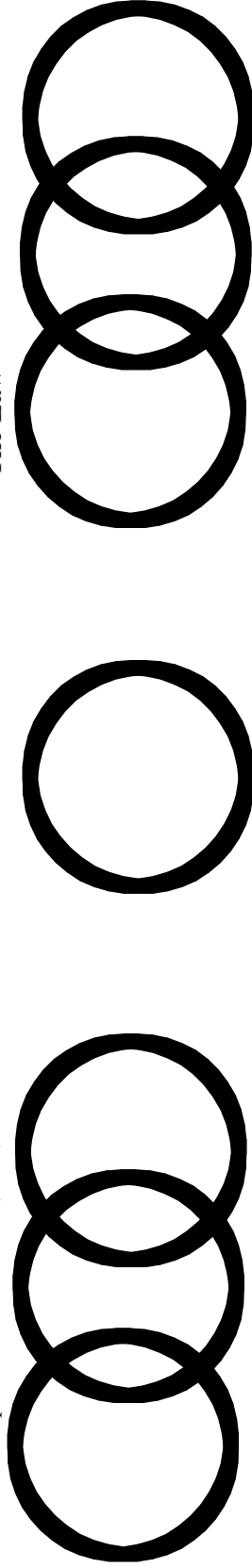
**Courts**  
Judicial Branch  
The Law

“Bully Pulpit”

“Cup and Saucer”

“Rule of Law”

## Links



Linkage Institutions

## The People

**Popular Sovereignty**  
Authority/Legitimacy

“...the Republic may be... raised to a certain number, in order to guard against **the cabals of a few**; and that however large it may be, they must be limited to a certain number, in order to guard against **the confusion of a multitude.**”

## The Government

Formal Institutions

**Limited**

Formal vs. Informal

National

State

Local

**Federalism**

Marble Cake

**Interest Groups**  
“Mother’s Milk”  
Of Politics

**Power**  
Centralized

**Media**  
“4th Estate”

# Getting Ahead!

Choosing to Improve Your Chances on Your A.P. Government Exam

( : Up Your AP ( :

Look at political cartoons

Watch Political Movies.

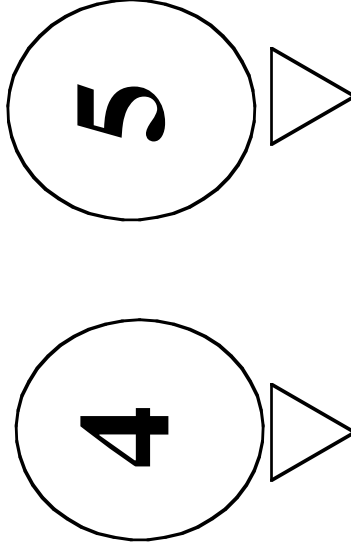
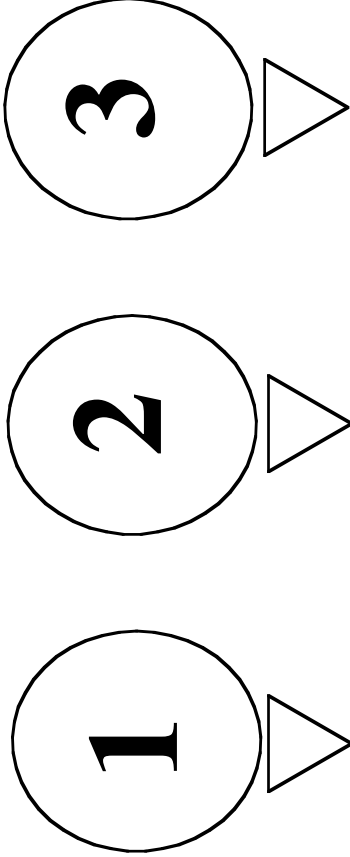
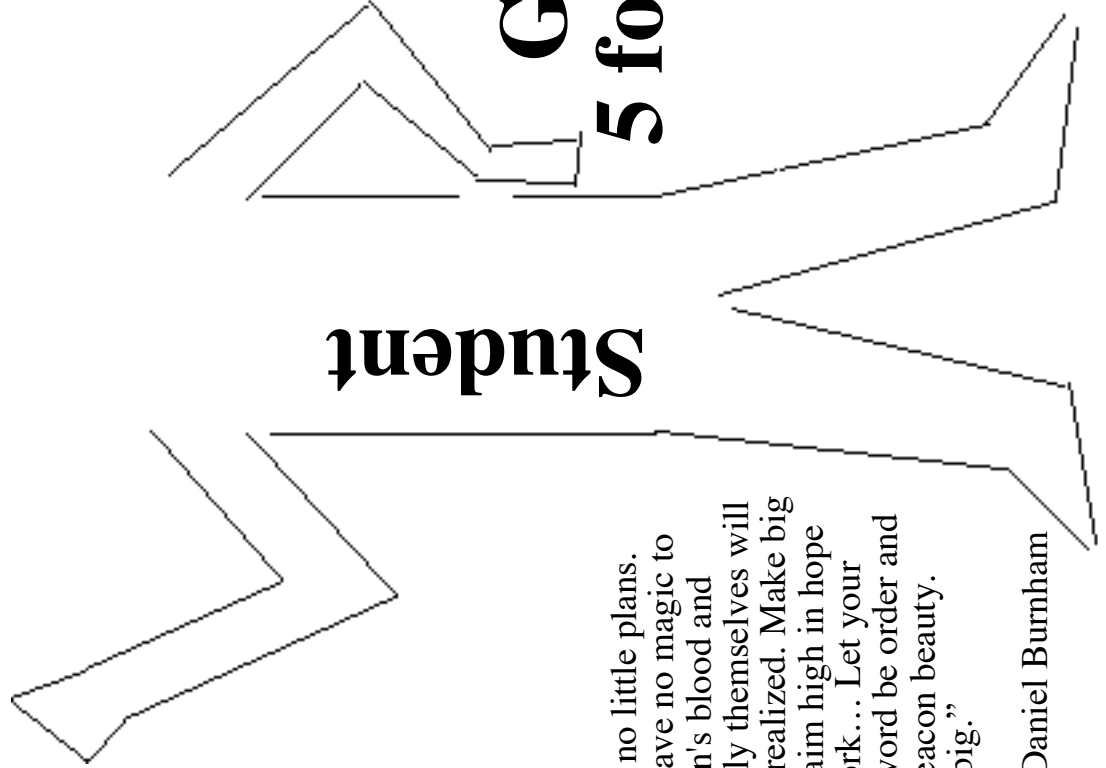
931

“Make no little plans. They have no magic to stir men's blood and probably themselves will not be realized. Make big plans; aim high in hope and work... Let your watchword be order and your beacon beauty. Think big.”

Daniel Burnham

Student

GO  
5 for 5



Can you pass the straight face test?

1. Word Up! Know government/politics vernacular.
2. Read Up! Purposefully /Critically read the news NOW.
3. Write Up! Be explicit, not conversational. EXAMPLES.
4. “Chain” ge Up! Link “chain” to all FRQs.
5. STUDY Up! Keep it simple. Study the right things and write accordingly. In this instance, less is NOT more.



**PRACTICE AP United States Government and Politics**  
**Free - Response Questions**

1. The judicial branch is designed to be more independent of public opinion than are the legislature or the executive. Yet, the United States Supreme Court rarely deviates too far for too long from prevalent public opinion.
  - (a) Describe two ways in which the United States Supreme Court is insulated from public opinion.
  - (b) Explain how two factors work to keep the United States Supreme Court from deviating too far from public opinion.
  
2. The power of the federal government relative to the power of the states has increased since the ratification of the Constitution.
  - (a) Describe two of the following provisions of the Constitution and explain how each has been used over time to expand federal power.
    - The power to tax
    - The “necessary and proper” or “elastic” clause
    - The commerce clause
  - (b) Explain how one of the following has increased the power of the federal government relative to the power of state governments.
    - Americans with Disabilities Act
    - Civil Rights Act of 1964
    - Clean Air Act
  
3. Initially, the United States Constitution did little to protect citizens from actions of the states. In the twentieth century, the Supreme Court interpreted the Constitution to protect the rights of citizens from state governments in a process referred to as incorporation.
  - (a) Define selective incorporation
  - (b) For two of the following, explain how each has been incorporated. Each of your explanations must be based on a specific and relevant Supreme Court decision.
    - Rights of criminal defendants
    - First Amendment
    - Privacy rights
  
4. The United States Congress has debated a variety of campaign finance reforms over the last decade. The proposals debated have included the following:
  - Eliminating soft money
  - Limiting independent expenditures
  - Raising limits on individual contributions
  - (a) Select one of the listed proposals and do all of the following:
    - Define the proposal
    - Describe an argument that proponents make in favor of the proposal
    - Describe an argument that proponents make against the proposal
  - (b) Select a different listed proposal and do all of the following:
    - Define the proposal
    - Describe an argument that proponents make in favor of the proposal
    - Describe an argument that proponents make against the proposal

**AP United States Government and Politics  
Practice Scoring Guidelines**

**Question 1**

**6 points**

**Part (a): 2 points**

One point is earned for each of the two descriptions. The response must correctly describe two features of the Supreme Court that insulate it from public opinion. The description must identify each feature and add an additional clause or sentence that is factually correct and relevant to the identification. This may be an example or illustration. The response must also link each feature to public opinion. Congress may be used as a surrogate for public opinion, but the President cannot be used unless explicitly linked to public opinion.

Acceptable descriptions may include:

- “Appointed” or “not elected.”
- Serve life terms.
- Court’s ability to control its own docket/set its own agenda.
- Salaries cannot be reduced.
- Limited access to Court proceedings.

Descriptions that are not acceptable include:

- The Court’s role as interpreter of laws/Constitution.
- The fact that the Court accepts only legitimate controversies.

**Part (b): 4 points**

Two points are earned for each of the two explanations. The response must explain how or why each identified factor keeps the Supreme Court from deviating too far from public opinion.

Acceptable explanations may include:

- The appointment and/or confirmation process (no point is given if the response says that the House confirms, but if the response says Congress confirms, this is acceptable). If the appointment and confirmation processes are fully discussed as two SEPARATE processes, the response may earn points for both.
- Reliance on other public officials to execute decisions.
- The fact that the Supreme Court can be overruled with new laws or constitutional amendments. (“New laws” do not include Congress’s general power to write legislation.)
- The concern for reputation—individual reputation and/or that of the Supreme Court. Concern for credibility/legitimacy of the institution falls into this category.
- The potential for the impeachment of justices.
- Congressional control of the Supreme Court’s appellate jurisdiction and/or changing the number of justices on the Court.

A score of zero (0) is earned for an attempted answer that earns no points.

A score of dash (—) is earned for a blank or off-task answer.

**AP United States Government and Politics  
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**Question 2**

**6 points**

**Part (a): 4 points**

One point is earned for each of the two descriptions, and 1 point is earned for each of the two explanations. The explanation must go beyond merely saying that the clause/power has been used more or interpreted more broadly, and it must explicitly indicate that change over time has occurred.

Acceptable descriptions may include:

- Tax and spend power.  
The response must indicate who exercises this power. (Congress/national government) The response must describe both the power to tax and the power to spend.
- The “necessary and proper” or “elastic” clause.  
The response must indicate who exercises this power. (Congress/national government) The response must include the power to pass laws.
- The commerce clause.  
The response must indicate who exercises this power. (Congress/national government). The response must refer to the regulation of interstate commerce, foreign commerce/trade, or commerce with Native American tribes.

**Part (b): 2 points**

One point is earned for identifying a provision of one of the laws, and 1 point is earned for explaining how the provision increased federal power over the states. If the response does not correctly identify a provision of one of the laws, it cannot get the second point. If the response only discusses the provision’s effect on individuals or businesses, it will not earn an explanation point.

A score of zero (0) is earned for an attempted answer that earns no points.  
A score of dash (—) is earned for a blank or off-task answer.

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**Question 3**

**6 points**

**Part (a): 2 points**

One point is earned for defining selective, and 1 point is earned for defining incorporation.

- The response must define what is meant by selective—the fact that the process has been piecemeal and not a sudden change.
- The response must define incorporation—the fact that some liberties listed in the Bill of Rights have been applied to the states using the Fourteenth Amendment/due process clause.
- The response can earn one point for defining selectiveness without having earned the definition point for defining incorporation in terms of the Fourteenth Amendment/due process clause.

**Part (b): 4 points**

One point is earned for describing each of two appropriate cases, and 1 point is earned for explaining how each of the specific provisions of the Bill of Rights was incorporated.

- The response must describe the facts and the right that is incorporated in two relevant cases.
- The response must also explain how the Supreme Court used the Fourteenth Amendment to incorporate the specific provision of the Bill of Rights in each of the two cases described.
- A response may earn points without being able to name an appropriate case, as long as the description and explanation demonstrate that the student knows the relevant aspects of the case even though the name is not included.
- Abbreviated case names and informal names are also acceptable (e.g., “Scottsboro Boys” case instead of *Powell v. Alabama*; *Mapp* instead of *Mapp v. Ohio*).
- The student does not need to discuss the case that originally incorporated the right, only a case that demonstrates that the right has been incorporated.
- The Fourteenth Amendment does not need to be explicitly mentioned in the explanation of the case(s) if the definition of incorporation demonstrates a complete understanding of the role of the Fourteenth Amendment in selective incorporation.

A score of zero (0) is earned for an attempted answer that earns no points.

A score of dash (—) is earned for a blank or off-task answer.

# AP United States Government and Politics

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### Question 4

#### 6 points

##### Part (a): 3 points

One point is earned for the definition of the proposal, 1 point is earned for the description of the argument in favor of the proposal, and 1 point is earned for the description of the argument against the proposal. The response may get description points without the definition point, but the descriptions must reference the particular proposal.

##### Part (b): 3 points

One point is earned for the definition of the proposal, 1 point is earned for the description of the argument in favor of the proposal, and 1 point is earned for the description of the argument against the proposal. The response may get description points without the definition point, but the descriptions must reference the particular proposal.

##### Eliminating soft money

Definition: Prohibiting or regulating campaign contributions to political parties and/or contributions for party building activities

Acceptable arguments in favor include:

- Soft money is often used to circumvent limits on hard money.
- Levels the playing field.
- Lessens concern about undue influence of “fat cats”/buying of influence.
- Provides more disclosure and transparency.
- Decreases overall costs of campaigns.

Acceptable arguments against include:

- First Amendment.
- Contrary to ruling in *Buckley v. Valeo*.
- Party money is one step removed between contributor and decision-maker.
- Weakens political parties.
- Might lessen grassroots participation.

##### Limiting independent expenditures

Definition: Limiting money spent by individuals and groups not directly affiliated with the candidate or the party

Acceptable arguments in favor include:

- Can be used to circumvent limits on hard money.
- Levels the playing field.
- Possibly reduces negative issue ads.
- Candidates want to control their own campaigns.
- Lessens concern about undue influence of “fat cats”/buying of influence.

Acceptable arguments against include:

- First Amendment.
- Contrary to ruling in *Buckley v. Valeo*.
- Might lessen grassroots participation.

##### Raising limits on individual contributions

Definition: Increasing the dollar amount individuals may give to a campaign, parties, or PACs

Acceptable arguments in favor include:

- Limits are not indexed to inflation.
- Candidates can spend less time fundraising.
- Decreases influence of PACs.
- Decreases restrictions on First Amendment rights.
- Decreases reliance on less-regulated forms of campaign funds.

Acceptable arguments against include:

- Allows the rich to have/buy more influence.
- Too much money in the process already.
- Drives up the cost of campaigns.

A score of zero (0) is earned for an attempted answer that earns no points.

A score of dash (—) is earned for a blank or off-task answer.



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# Change

"We're riding a wave."  
- Barack Obama